

MEGALOPSYCHY

B E I N G

A Particular and Exact

# ACCOUNT

Of the last XVII. Years

O F

Q. Elizabeths Reign,

Both MILITARY and CIVIL.

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*The First written by Sir William Monson, one of the  
Queens Admirals.*

*The Second written by Heywood Townsend, Esq.*

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W H E R E I N

Is a True and Faithful Relation of all the Expeditions,  
Attempts, Designs, Successes, and Errors, both of the *English*  
and *Spanish* Wars, from the Year 1585, to the Queens death.  
With a Full Account of the eminent Speeches and Debates, &c.  
in the said time. To which is added Dr. Parry's Tryal in the  
Year 1584.

*All written at the time of the Actions, by Persons  
eminently Acting therein.*

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L O N D O N,

Printed for W. Crooke, and sold by W. Davis in Amen Corner.  
M.DC. LXXXII.

M E G A L O P O L I T A N

A B I N G

A P a r t i c l e a n d H e a r

# A C C O U N T

O f t h e L a s t X V I I Y e a r s

O f E l i z a b e t h R e g i n a

B o t h M I L I T A R Y a n d C I V I L

The First written by Sir William Mordaunt, one of the  
Greatest Admirals

The Second written by Edward Towson, Esq.

Is a True and Faithful Relation of all the Expeditions

made by her Majesty's Armies and Armies of Sea and Land  
in the said Years, and of the Successes thereof, and of the  
Particulars of the same, as they were then and there  
performed, and of the Honours and Rewards granted to the  
Officers and Soldiers, who were distinguished by their  
Valour and Bravery in the said Wars.

All written at the time of the Actions, by the  
Commanders, Acting therein

L O N D O N

Printed by J. Sturges, at the Sign of the Gun, in St. Dunstons Church-yard, near St. Dunstons Church, in the City of London.



A  
TRUE and EXACT  
ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
Wars with Spain,  
In the REIGN of  
Q. ELIZABETH,  
(Of Famous Memory.)

B E I N G  
The Particulars of what happened between the *English*  
and *Spanish* Fleets, from the Years 1585 to 1602.

S H E W I N G  
The Expeditions, Attempts, Fights, Designs, Escapes, Successes,  
Errors, &c. on both sides. With the Names of Her Majesty's  
Ships and Commanders in every Fleet. Being a Patern and  
Warning to Future Ages.  
*Never Printed before.*

---

*Written by Sir William Monson, who was a Captain in  
most, and Admiral of several of those Fleets in the said  
Wars, and Dedicated to his Son.*

---

L O N D O N,  
Printed for W. Crooke, and sold by W. Davis in Amen Corner.  
M. DC. LXXXII.

TRUE and EXACT

# ACCOUNT

OF THE

## Wars with Spain

In the REIGN of

# CHARLES II.

(Of Famous Memory)

By

The Particulars of what happened between the Kings  
and Spanish Fleets from the Years 1655 to 1660.

By

The late Sir William Monson, Knight, and  
Member of Parliament for the County of Devon  
in the Years 1655, 1656, 1657, 1658, 1659, and 1660.

Written by Sir William Monson, Knight, and  
Member of Parliament for the County of Devon  
in the Years 1655, 1656, 1657, 1658, 1659, and 1660.

LONDON

Printed by J. Streater, in Great Britain, and sold by W. B. L. L. L. L.

# TO THE R E A D E R

*By way of Advertifement.*

**Y**OU have here put into your hands a Piece of *English* History of a time of great Actions. You will hardly meet more Truth in any History than you will find in this. All circumstances considered, there could not in any thing be greater opportunities of Truth, they being written by Persons of Eminent Characters, and Considerable Actors in the same times. These very Authors Wise and Heroick Actions make no inconsiderable part of the History it self.

The First is a *Relation* of the *Military Transactions* of the Nation for nigh *Twenty Years*, beginning *Anno Domini 1585*, (from which time to Queen *Elizabeths* death there was yearly set out a Fleet against the *Spaniards*) with a full *Account* of all the *Expeditions, Stratagems, Attempts, Successes, and Miscarriages*, that happened in that War on both sides; wherein is shewed the Valour and Heroick Acts of those great Souldiers that were so plenty in that Age; as,

<i>Cumberland</i>	<i>Bellingham</i>	<i>Bostock</i>
<i>Suffolk</i>	<i>Fenner</i>	<i>Sackvile</i>
<i>Essex</i>	<i>Southwell</i>	<i>Goring</i>
<i>Sheffeld</i>	<i>Crosse</i>	<i>Norris</i>
<i>Drake</i>	<i>Seymour</i>	<i>Williams</i>
<i>Rawleigh</i>	<i>Crosse</i>	<i>Leicester</i>
<i>Hawkins</i>	<i>Winter</i>	<i>York</i>
<i>Forbisher</i>	<i>Beeston</i>	<i>Greenvile</i>
<i>Carlee</i>	<i>Palmer</i>	<i>Vavasor, &amp;c.</i>
<i>Burroughs</i>	<i>Barker</i>	

And

## TO THE READER.

And Sir *William Monson*, the Author of this, who was Admiral in several of the said Expeditions against the *Spaniards*, and also a Member in her last Parliaments.

The second part is the full and exact Account of the *Four last Parliaments* (both Lords and Commons) of Queen *Elizabeth*, taken from the original Records of their Houses, by *Heywood Townsend* Esquire, a Member thereof; with the particular Speech and Behaviour of the Wise and Learned Statesmen, Lawyers, &c. which that time was so fruitful of, viz.

<i>Egerton</i>	<i>Crooke</i>	<i>Wentworth</i>
<i>Burleigh</i>	<i>Coke</i>	<i>Hobart</i>
<i>Buckhurst</i>	<i>Moore</i>	<i>Manwood</i>
<i>Cecill</i>	<i>Fortescue</i>	<i>Jones</i>
<i>Walsingham</i>	<i>Popham</i>	<i>Digby</i>
<i>Hatton</i>	<i>Telverton</i>	<i>Cesar</i>
<i>Bacon</i>	<i>Finch</i>	<i>Anderson</i>
<i>Ramleigh</i>	<i>Maynard</i>	<i>Winch, &amp;c.</i>
<i>Hobby</i>	<i>Spelman</i>	

With other passages of History in those times, that is, runs contemporary with Sir *William Monsons* Relation both together being the Account of the Military and Civil State of Affairs, of nigh 20 Years of the last part of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, being the most eminent time of Action in all her Government.

With Sir *William Monsons* Directions and Advice to his Son by way of Dedication, to excuse its not coming forth sooner, may be to avoid such Offences, which must necessarily be given by a faithful and exact Historian, that writes of the present Age, when the Parties are living that were Actors in it; it may by this time be supposed that such Objections (against its now coming forth) may be over. You have added at the end of this the Tryal, Condemnation, and Execution



## TO THE READER.

cution of Dr. Parry, for a Conspiracy against the said Queen, written also at the time of his Tryal and Execution.

So that what is here offered for thy use, is nothing but what was written at the time of the Action, or by the Persons who were Actors, and of such Quality, that it is quite out of all suspicion there should be the least Falshood in this ; it being never at all designed for the publick in the life-time of the Authors. Therefore neither Profit nor Honour did the Authors expect, although their exact and careful Accounts of Truth must be no small benefit to the curious Reader.

*There is lately published a small Book of 1 s. 6 d. price, called, The Connexion, being choice Collections of some principal matters in King James his Reign, and passages betwixt this Book and Rushworth, Nalson, and the rest that begin at King Charles I.*

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a falsehood in this; it being a fact that  
for the public in the time of the American  
war, neither from the London and the  
rest, although their exert and exert, it  
must be no small matter.

It has been published a small book of  
called, The Connection, being a collection of  
principally matters in King James's reign, and  
not before this Book, and is a very  
the first that begin in King Charles I.

Sir WILLIAM MONSON

TO HIS

Son JOHN.

Dear Son,

**T**HE Custom of Dedicating Books hath been ancient, and they have been usually dedicated either to Great Persons, for protection or remuneration; or to Familiars, out of friendship and affection; or to Children, in respect of nature and for admonition. And to this end it is, that to you I commend the reading of the Discourse following; that so beholding the 18 years War by Sea, which for want of years you could not then remember; and comparing them with the 18 years of Peace, in which you have lived, you may consider three things. First, that after so many pains and perils God hath lent Life to your Father to further your Education. Secondly, what proportion his recompence and rewards have had to his Services. Lastly, what just cause you have to abandon the thoughts of such dangerous and uncertain courses; and that you may follow the ensuing Precepts, which I commend to your often perusal.

And in the first place, I will put you in mind of the small Means and Fortune I shall leave, that you may rate your Expences accordingly; and yet as little as it is, 'tis great to me, in respect I attained to it by my own endeavours and dangers, and therefore nobody can challenge Interest in it but my self, though your Carriage may promise the best possibility.

Beware you presume not so much upon it, as thereby to grow disobedient to your Parents; for what you can pretend to, is but the privilege of two years of age above your younger Brother; and in such cases Fathers are like Judges, that can and will distinguish of offences and deserts according to truth, and will reward and punish as they shall see cause.

And because you shall know it is no rare or new thing for a man to dispose of his own, I will lay before you a Precedent of your own House, that so often as you think of it, you may remember it with fear, and prevent it with care.

The Great Grandfather of your Grandfather was a Knight by Title, and *John* by name, which name we desire to retain to our eldest Sons; God blessed him with many earthly Benefits, as Wealth, Children, and Reputation; his eldest Son was called *John* after his Father, and his second *William* like to your self and Brother; but upon what displeasure I know not, (although we must judge the Son gave the occasion) his Father left him the least part of his Fortune, though sufficient to equal the best Gentleman of his Shire, and particularly the ancient House called after his name. His other Son *William* he invested with what your Uncle now enjoys. Both the Sons whilst they lived carried the port and estimation of their Fathers Children, though afterwards it fell out that the Son of *John*, and Nephew to *William*, became disobedient, negligent, and prodigal, and spent all his Patrimony; so that in conclusion he and his Son extinguished their House, and there now remains no memory of them. As for the second Line and Race, of whom

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your

your Uncle and I descended, we live as you see, though our Estates be not great, and of the two mine much the least; which notwithstanding is the greater to me in respect I achieved it with the peril and danger of my Life; and you will make my contentment in the enjoyment of it the greater, if it be accompanied with that comfort I hope to receive from you.

The next thing I will handle shall be Arms. Know that Wars by Land or Sea are always accompanied with infinite dangers and disasters, and seldom rewarded according to Merit: For one Souldier that lives to enjoy that Preferment which becomes his right by Antiquity of Service, ten thousand fall by the Sword and other casualties: And if you compare that of a Souldier with any other Calling or Profession, you will find much difference both in the reward and danger

Although Arms have been esteemed in all Ages, and the more as there was greater occasion to use them; yet you shall find they have been always subject to jealousies and envy; Jealousies from the State, if the General or other Officer grow great and popular; subject to envy from Inferiors, who through their perverse and ill dispositions malign other mens Merits.

The Advancement of Souldiers is commonly made by Councillors at home, whose eyes cannot witness the Services performed abroad; but a man is advanced as he is befriended, which makes the Souldiers Preferment as uncertain as his Life is casual.

Compare the estate and advancement of Souldiers of our time but with the mean and mercenary Lawyer, and you shall find so great a difference, that I had rather you should become Apprentice to the one, than make Profession of the other.

A Captain that will seek to get the love of his Souldiers. as his greatest praise and felicity, of all other vices must detest and abandon Covetousness; he must live by spending as the Miser doth by sparing; in so much as few of them can obtain by War wherewith to maintain themselves in peace, and where Wealth wants Preferment fails.

Souldiers that live in peaceable Islands, as in *England*, their Profession is undervalued, because we see not those dangers which make the Souldiers necessary, as others do where Wars are practised. And the good success in our War hath been such as makes us attribute our Victories, not so much to Valour as to Chance.

I confess the base and ill behaviour of some Souldiers, hath made themselves and their Callings the less esteemed; for the name of a Captain, which was ever wont to be honourable, is now become a word of reproach and disdain.

Souldiers may have Reputation, but little Credit; Reputation enough to defend their Honours, but little Trust in Commerce of the World; and not without cause, for their security is the worse, by how much the danger of death is the greater.

Learning is as much to be preferred before War, as the trade of a Merchant before that of the Factor. By Learning you are made sensible of the difference betwixt Men and other Creatures, and will be able to judge between the good and the bad, and how to walk accordingly. By Learning you attain to the knowledge of Heavenly Mysteries, and you may frame your Life accordingly, as God shall give you grace. By Learning you are made capable of Preferment, if it concur with Virtue and Discretion; and the rather because you are a Gentleman by birth, and of good Alliance, which I observe next to Money in this Golden Age is the second step to Advancement.

For



For one that is preferred by Arms, there are twenty by Learning; and indeed the Souldier is but a Servant to the Learned, for after his many fought Battels, and as many dangers of his Life, he must yield account of his Actions, and be judged, corrected, and advanced as it shall please the other.

You may wonder to hear me extoll Learning so highly above my own Profession, considering the poor Fortune I shall leave was atchieved by Arms; it is enough therefore to persuade you what I say is not conjectural but approved: for if I did not find this difference, the natural affection of a Father to a Son would make me discover it to you, that you may follow that which is most probable and profitable.

Good Son, love Souldiers for your Countries sake, who are the Defenders of it; for my sake, who have made Profession of it; but shun the practice of it as you will do Brawls, Quarrels, and Suits, which bring with them perplexities, and dangers.

There are many things to be shunned, as being perillous both to Body and Soul; as Quarrels and occasions of them, which happen through the enormities and abuses of our Age. Esteem Valour as a special virtue, but shun Quarrelling as a most detestable vice. Of two evils it were better to keep company with a Coward than a Quarreller; the one is commonly sociable and friendly, the other dangerous in his Acquaintance, and offensive to Standers by. He is never free from peril, that is conversant with a Quarreller, either for offence given to himself, or to others wherein he may be engaged.

A true valiant man shall have enough to do to defend his own Reputation, without engaging for others: nor are all valiant that will fight, therefore Discretion makes a difference betwixt Valour and Desperateness. Nothing can happen more unfortunate to a Gentleman, than to have a Quarrel, and yet nothing so ordinary as to give offence; it draweth with it many mischiefs both to Body and Soul: being slain he is danger of damnation, and no less if he kill the other without great repentance. He shall perpetually live in danger of revenge from the Friends of the Party killed, and fall into the mercy of the Prince and Law where he liveth; but if for fear and baseness he avoid and shun a Quarrel, he is more odious living than he would be unhappy in dying.

Drinking is the foundation of other vices, it is the cause of Quarrels, and then follows Murders. It occasions Swearing, Whoredom, and many other vices depend upon it.

When you behold a Drunkard, imagine you see a Beast in the shape of a Man. It is a humour that for the time pleaseth the Party drunk, and so bereaves him of sence, that he thinketh all he doth delighteth the Beholders; but the day following he buys his shame with repentance, and perhaps gives that offence in his drunkenness, that makes him hazard both Life and Reputation in a Quarrel. You have no man that will brag or boast so much of the word Reputation as a Drunkard, when indeed there is nothing more to a mans imputation than to be drunk.

A Drunkard is in the condition of an excommunicated person, whose Testimony betwixt Party and Party is of no validity. Avoid (good Son) the company of a Drunkard, and occasions of drinking, then shall you live free without fear, and enjoy your own without hazard.

Whoredom is an incident to Drunkenness, though on the contrary all Whoremasters are not Drunkards. It is a sin not washed away without the vengeance of God to the third and fourth generation.

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Besides the offence to God, it giveth a disreputation to the party and his Offspring, it occasioneth a breach betwixt Man and Wife, encourageth the Wife oftentimes to follow the ill example of her Husband, and then ensueth Dislike, Divorce, Disinheriting of Children, Suits in Law, and Consuming of Estates.

The next and worst sin I would have you shun is Swearing. I do not advise you like a Puritan, that ties a man more to the observing of Sundays, and from taking the Name of God in vain, than to all the rest of the Commandments: but I wish you to avoid it for the greatness of the sin it self, for the Plague of God hangeth over the House of the Blasphemer. Swearing is odious to the Hearers, it giveth little credit to the words of him that useth it, it affordeth no pleasure as other sins do, nor yieldeth any profit to the party; Custom begetteth it, and Custom must make one leave it.

For your Exercises let them be of two kinds, the one of Mind, the other of Body; that of the Mind must consist of Prayer, Meditation, and your Book; let your Prayers be twice a day, howsoever you dispose of your self the rest of the time; Prayers work a great effect in a contrite and penitent Heart.

By this I do not seek to persuade you from such Exercises and Delights of body as are lawful and allowable in a Gentleman; for such increase health and agility of body, make a man sociable in company, and draw good Acquaintants; many times they bring a man into favour with a Prince, and prove an occasion of preferment in his Marriage; they are often times a safeguard to a mans Life, as in vaulting suddenly upon a Horse to escape an Enemy.

I will especially commend unto you such pleasures as bring delight and content without charge; for others are fitter for greater men than one of your Fortune to follow.

Hawking and Hunting, if they be moderately used, are like Tobacco, in some cases wholesom for the Body, but in the common use both labourfom and loathfom; they alike bring one discommodity, (as comonly Vices do) that they are not so easily left as entertained.

Tobacco is hot and hurtful to young Bodies and Stomachs, and augments the heat of the Liver, which naturally you are subject to. It is offensive to company, especially the Breath of him that takes it; it drieth the Brain, and many become Fools with the continual use thereof.

Let your Apparel be handfom and decent, not curious nor costly. A wise man is more esteemed in his plain Cloth than gay Clothing. It is more commendable to be able to buy a rich Suit than to wear one. A wise man esteems more of a mans Vertues and Valour than of his Vesture; but seeing this Age is fantastical and changeable, you must fashion your self to it, but in somean and moderate a manner, as to be rather praised for Frugality, than derided for Prodigality.

He that delights in curious Cloaths is an Imitator of a Player, who measures his Apparel by the part he acts. And as Players appear upon the Stage to be seen of the Spectators, so do the Gallants proclaim their Braveries in open Assemblies.

Whilest I live and you not marry, I shall temper this Expence; but when I die remember what I say, seek Advancement rather by your carriage; the curiousness, the reputation you gain by that will be lasting, when this will appear but like a Flower fading.

Frame your Course of Life to the Country and not to the Court; and yet make not your self such a stranger to great persons, as in Assemblies they should

should ask others who you are. I confess the greatest and suddenest rising is by the Court; yet the Court is like a hopeful and forward Spring, that is taken with a sharp and cold Frost, which nips and blasts a whole Orchard except 2 or 3 Trees; for after that proportion commonly Courtiers are prefer'd. And he that will thrive at Court must make his dependency upon some great person, in whose Ship he must imbarque all his hopes; and how unfortunate such great persons are oftentimes themselves, and how unthankful to their Followers, we want not Precedents.

He that settles his Service upon one of them shall fall into the disfavour of another; for a Court is like an Army ever in War, striving by stratagems to circumvent and kick up one anothers heels. You are not ignorant of the aptness of this Comparison by what you know of me, whose case will serve you for a Prospective-glass, wherein to behold your danger afar off, the better to prevent it. Yet reverence Lords because they are Noble, and one more than another, as he is more notable in virtue.

Be choice of your Company; for as a man makes election of them he is censured: Man lives by Reputation, and that failing he becomes a Monster. Let your Company consist of your own rank, rather better than worse; for hold it for a Maxim, The better Gentleman the more gentle in his behaviour.

Beware they be not accused of Crimes, for so it may touch you in Credit; and if you lose your Reputation in the bud of your Youth, you shall scarce recover it in the whole course of your Life. Let them be civil in carriage, for commonly such men are sensible above all; let them be learned, for Learning is a Fountain from whence springs another Life; let them be temperate in Diet and Expence, so shall you learn to live in health, and increase in wealth.

Beware they be not cholerick in disposition, or arrogant in Opinion; for so you shall become a Slave to their Humours, and base by suffering. A cholerick man of all others is the worst Companion, for he cannot temper his rage, but on any slight occasion of a Friend becomes an Enemy. Value true Friendship next to Marriage, which nothing but Death can dissolve; for the fickleness of Friendship is oftentimes the ruine of ones Fortune.

Beware of Gaming, for it causes great vexation of Mind. If you lose, it begets in you that humour, that out of hope of regaining your losses, you will endanger the loss of all. Do not presume too much of your skill in Play, or making wagers as if you were excellent above others, or have Fortune at command; for she is like a Whore variable and inconstant, and when she disfavours you, it is with more loss at once than she recompenceth at twice.

Love your Brother and Sisters for their own sakes, as you are bound by Nature, but especially for mine whose they are. Remember you are all indifferent to me, but that God chose you from the rest to be a strength and stay to them; think you cannot honour your Father more being dead, than in shewing affection to them he dearly loved; and nothing will more approve you to be mine, than love and kindness amongst your selves. You owe somewhat more to me than that I am your Father, in that I seek your Advancement above theirs, of which Obligation I will acquit you conditionally you perform what you ought to them. For because Man cannot himself live ever, he desires to live in his Posterity; and if I had an hundred Sons, my greatest hope must depend upon you as you are my eldest, and seeing my care is of you above the rest, do not make my Memory so unhappy, as to give the World an occasion to say, I left an unnatural Son.



The onely request I make is, be kind and loving to them, who I know by their disposition will give you no cause of offence. A discourtesie from you will be as sharp to them as a Razor from another.

Be courteous and friendly to all, for men are esteemed according to their carriage. There is an old Proverb, *The courtesie of the mouth is of great value, and costs little.* A proud man is envied of his Equals, hated by his Inferiours, and scorned by his Superiours; so that betwixt Envy, Hate, and Scorn he is friendless.

Many times a man is condemned to death out of presumption, especially when it concurs with an opinion of his former ill carriage: how much therefore doth it concern a man in the times of his Prosperity to lay up a stock of Love and Reputation?

There cannot be a greater Honour than to gain a mans Enemy by a courtesie; it far exceeds the kindness that is done to another, and doubly obligeth him that receiveth it. Love is a thing desired by a King from his Subjects, by a General from his Souldiers, and by a Master from his Servants; he that hath it is rich by it, it maintains peace in time of peace, and is a safe Bulwork in time of war.

Do not buy this Love with the ruine of your Estate, as many do with prodigal Expences, and then are requited with pity and derision. Let your Expence be agreeable to the wearing of your Cloaths, better or worse according to Company; or the journeying your Horse, the less way you go to day, you may travel the further to morrow; but if you go every day a long and wearisom Journey, your Horse will fail, and you be enforc'd to go on foot. And so will it be in your Expences, if you do not moderate them according to Days and Companies, your Horse and you may travel faintly together.

If you are prodigal in any thing, let it be in Hospitality, as most agreeable to the will of God, you shall feed the hungry, relieve the poor, and get the love of the rich. What you spend among your Neighbours is not lost, but procures their loves and helps when you have need, and thereby you shall find Friendship in the Country as available as Favour at Court.

If you are called to any place of Magistracy, do justice with pity, revenge not your self of your Enemy under colour of Authority, for that shews baseness, and will procure you hatred. In Money matters favour your Country, if it be not against the present profit of the King, for many times his Name is used for the gain of other men.

Study the Laws, not to make a mercenary practice of them, but onely for your own use, the good of your Neighbours, and the Government of your Country. Hold the Laws in reverence next to the King; for that Kingdom is well governed where the King is ruled by the Laws, not the Laws by the King.

Be not presumptuous in your Command, yet seek to be obeyed as you desire to obey; for as you are above others, others are above you. Give your mind to accommodate Controversies among your Neighbours, and you shall gain their Love, which will more avail you than the hate of the Lawyers can hurt you.

Punish Idleness and other vices, as well for that they are such, as for examples sake. Gain love by doing Justice, and hate doing wrong, though it were to your immediate profit.

If you marry after my death, chuse a Wife as near as you can suitable to your Calling, Years, and Condition; for such Marriages are made in Heaven, though celebrated on Earth.



If your Estate were great, your choice might be the freer; but where the preferment of your Sisters must depend upon your Wives Portion, let not your Fancy overrule your Necessity. It is an old Saying, *He that marrieth for love hath evil days and good nights*: Consider if you marry for Affection, how long you will be raising Portions for your Sisters, and the misery you shall live in all the days of your life; for the greatest Fortune that a man can expect is in his Marriage. A wise man is known by his actions, but where Passion and Affection sway, that man is deprived of sense and understanding.

It is not the Poverty or Meanness of her that's married that makes her the better Wife, for commonly such Women grow elevated, and are no more mindful of what they have been, than a Mariner is of his escape from a danger at Sea when it is past. You must set your Wife a good example by your own carriage, for a wise and discreet Husband usually makes an obedient and dutiful Wife. Beware of Jealousie, for it causeth great vexation of mind, and scorn and laughter from your Enemies.

Many times it is occasioned by the behaviour of the Husband towards other Women: in that case do like the Physician, take away the cause of the infirmity, if not you are worthy to feel the smart of it. Jealousie is grounded upon conceit and imagination, proceeds from a weak, idle, and distempered Brain; and the unworthy carriage of him that is jealous, many times maketh a Woman do what otherwise she would not.

If God be pleased to give you Children, love them with that discretion that they discern it not, lest they too much presume upon it. Encourage them in things that are good, and correct them if they offend. The love of God to Man cannot be better expressed, than by that of a Father to his Children. Comforts or Crosses they prove to their Parents, and hence in Education is a great help to Nature.

Let your Children make you to disrelish and abandon all other delights and pleasures of the world, in respect of the comfort and joy you receive by them. Make account then that Summer is past, and the melancholy Winter approacheth; for a careful and provident Father cannot take delight in the world and provide for his Children.

For a conclusion I will recommend two principal Virtues to you, the one is Secrecy, the other Patience. Secrecy is necessarily required in all, especially publick persons, for many times they are trusted with things, the revealing whereof may cost them their lives, and hinder the designs of their Masters. It is a folly to trust any man with a secret, that can give no assistance in the business he is trusted with. Councillors of State and Generals, of Armies, of all other ought to be most secret, for their designs being once discovered, their Enterprizes fail. Silence was so much esteemed among the *Persians*, that she was adored for a Goddess. The *Romans* kept their Expeditions so secret, as that alone was a principal cause of their Victories. But of all others trust not Women with a Secret, for the weakness of their Sex makes them unsecret. Be patient after the example of *Job*, and you shall become a true Servant of God. Patience deserveth to be painted with a Sword in her hand, for she conquers and subdues all difficulties. If you will take advantage of your Enemy, make him cholerick, and by patience you shall overcome him.

*Marcus Aurelius* being both Emperour and Philosopher confessed, he attained not the Empire by Philosophy but by Patience. What man in the world was ever so patient as our Saviour himself, by following whose example his Ministers have converted more by their words, then all the persecuting

cuting Emperours could deterr by rigour or cruelty of Laws. The impatient man contests with God himself, who giveth and taketh away at his good will and pleasure.

Let me (good Son) be your Patern of Patience, for you can witness with me, that the Disgraces I have unjustly suffered, (my Estate being through my misfortunes ruined, my Health by imprisonments decayed, and my Services undervalued and unrecompensed) have not bred the least distaste or discontent in me, or altered my resolution from my infancy; that is, I was never so base as to insinuate into any mans favour, who was favoured by the times. I was never so ambitious as to seek or crave Employment, or to undertake any that was not put upon me. My great and onely comfort is, that I served my Princes both faithfully and fortunately; but seeing my Services have been no better accepted, I can as well content my self in being a Spectator, as if I were an Actor in the world.

Before I treat of the Sea I will shew what Laws *Richard* the First established in his Expedition by Sea, which in some points are observed to this day.

1. *That whosoever should kill a man, should be tied to him killed, and thrown into the Sea with him.*
2. *If any be killed on Land, the party to be buried alive with him killed.*
3. *Whosoever shall strike another, and not draw blood, shall be duck'd three times at the Yards Arm.*
4. *Whosoever revileth or curseth another, so often as he revileth shall pay an ounce of Silver.*
5. *Whosoever draweth his Knife, or draweth Blood, shall lose his Hand.*
6. *Whosoever doth steal, shall have his Head shorn, and boiled Pitch poured upon it, and Feathers strewed upon the same, whereby he may be known; and at the first Landing-place he shall be towed on shore.*

*A Yearly Account of the English and Spanish Fleets, which were set forth from the Year 1585, when the Wars with Spain first began, untill the Year 1602, when King James made his happy Entrance into this Kingdom; shewing the Designs, Escapes, and Errors on both English and Spanish sides, with the Names of the Queens Ships and Commanders in every Expedition.*

*A Voyage of Sir Francis Drake to the West Indies,  
Anno Dom. 1585.*

## Ships.

*The Elizabeth Bonaventure  
The Ayde*

## Commanders.

*Sir Francis Drake.  
Capt. Forbisher.  
Capt. Carlee Lieutenant General by  
Land.*

**U**Pon the knowledge of the Imbargo made by the King of Spain in Anno 1585, of the English Ships, Men, and Goods found in his Country; Her Majesty having no means to help or relieve her Subjects by friendly Treaty, authorized such as sustained loss by the said Arrest, to repair themselves upon the Subjects of the King of Spain; and to that end gave them Letters of Reprisal, to take and arrest all Ships and Merchandizes that they should find at Sea, or elsewhere, belonging to the Vassals of the said King.

Her Majesty at the same time to revenge the wrongs offered her, and to resist the King of Spains Preparations made against her equipped a Fleet of 25 Sail of Ships, and imployed them under the command of Sir Francis Drake, as the fittest man by reason of his Experience and Success in fundry Actions.

It is not my intent to set down all the particulars of the Voyages treated of, but the Services done, and the Escapes and Oversight past, as a warning to those that shall read them, and to prevent the like Errors hereafter.

This Voyage of Sir Francis Drake being the first undertaking on either side, (for it ensued immediately after the Arrest of our Ships and Goods in Spain) I will deliver my Opinion of it, before I proceed any further.

One impediment to the Voyage was, that to which the ill success of divers others that after followed, is to be imputed, viz. the want of Victuals and other necessaries fit for so great an Expedition; for had not the Fleet by chance met with a Ship laden with Fish, that came from New found Land, which relieved their necessities, they would have found themselves reduced to great extremity.

The Service that was performed in this Action, was the taking and sacking Santa Domingo in Hispaniola, Cartagena in Terra firma, and the Fonta aqua in Florida; three Towns of great importance in the West Indies. This Fleet



was the greatest of any Nation but the *Spaniards*, that had been ever seen in those Seas since the first discovery of them; and if it had been as well considered of before their going from home, as it was happily performed by the Valour of the Undertakers, it had more annoyed the King of *Spain*, than all other Actions that ensued during the time of the War.

But it seems our long Peace made us uncapable of advice in War; for had we kept and defended those places being in our possession, and provided to have been relieved and succoured out of *England*, we had diverted the war from this part of *Europe*: for at that time there was no comparison betwixt the strength of *Spain* and *England* by Sea, by means whereof we might have better defended them, and with more ease incroached upon the rest of the *Indies*, than the King of *Spain* could have aided or succoured them.

But now we see and find by experience, that those places which were then weak and unfortified, are since so strengthened, as it is bootless to undertake any Action to annoy the King of *Spain* in his *West Indies*.

And though this Voyage proved both fortunate and victorious, yet considering it was rather an awakening than a weakening of him, it had been far better to have wholly declined it, than to have undertaken it upon such slender grounds, and with so inconsiderable Forces.

*The second Voyage of Sir Francis Drake to the Road of  
Cadiz, and towards the Islands of Tercera,  
Anno 1587.*

Ships.	Commanders.
<i>The Elizabeth Bonaventure</i>	<i>Sir Francis Drake, General.</i>
<i>The Lyon</i>	<i>Sir William Borrough, Vice Admiral.</i>
<i>The Rainbow</i>	<i>Capt. Bellingam.</i>
<i>The Dread-nought</i>	<i>Capt. Thomas Fenner.</i>

HER Majesty having received several Advertisements, that while the King of *Spain* was silent, not seeking revenge for the injuries the Ships of Reprisal did him daily upon his Coasts, he was preparing an invincible Army to invade her at home. She thereupon sought to frustrate his designs, by intercepting his Provisions before they should come to *Lisbon*, which was their place of Rendezvouz, and sent away Sir Francis Drake with a Fleet of 30 Sail great and small, 4 whereof were her own Ships.

The chief Adventure in this Voyage (besides those 4 Ships of Her Majesties) was made by the Merchants of *London*, who sought their private gain more than the advancement of the Service; neither were they deceived of their expectation.

Sir Francis Drake understanding by two Ships of *Middleborough*, that came from *Cadiz*, of a Fleet with Victuals, Munition, and other habiliments for War, riding there, ready to take the first opportunity of a wind, to go to *Lisbon* and joyn with other Forces of the King of *Spain*, he directed his course for *Cadiz* Road, where he found the Advertisement he received from the Ships of *Middleborough* in every point true; and upon his arrival attempted the Ships with great courage, and performed the Service he went for,



for, by destroying all such Ships as he found in Harbour, as well of the Spaniards as other Nations that were hired by them; and by these means he utterly defeated their mighty Preparations which were intended against England that year 1587.

The second Service performed by him was, the assaulting the Castle of Cape Sacre, upon the utmost Promontory of Portugal, and three other strong Holds; all which he took some by force, and some by composition. From thence he went to the mouth of the River of Lisbon, where he anchored near Caske Cadiz; which the Marques of St. Cruze beholding, durst not with his Gallies approach so near as once to charge him.

Sir Francis Drake perceiving, that though he had done important Service for the State by this fortunate Attempt of his, yet the same was not very acceptable to the Merchants, who adventured onely in hope of Profit, and preferred their private gain before the security of the Kingdom, or any other respect. Therefore from Caske Cadiz he stood to the Islands of Tercera, to expect the coming home of a Carreck, which he had intelligence wintered at Mosambique, and consequently she was to be home in that moneth. And though his Victuals grew scarce, and his Company importuned his return home, yet with gentle Speeches he persuaded, and so much prevailed with them, that they were willing to expect the issue some few days at the Islands; and by this time drawing near the Island of S. Michael, it was his good fortune to meet and take the Carreck he looked for; which added more Honour to his former Service, and gave great content to the Merchants, to have a profitable Return of their Adventure, which was the thing they principally desired. This Voyage proceeded prosperously and without exception, for there was both Honour and Wealth gained, and the Enemy greatly endamaged.

*The first Action undertaken by the Spaniards was in 1588, the Duke of Medina General, who were encountered by our Fleet, the Lord Admiral being at Sea himself in person.*

Ships.	Commanders.
<i>The Ark Royal</i>	<i>The Lord Admiral.</i>
<i>The Revenge</i>	<i>Sir Francis Drake, Vice Admiral.</i>
<i>The Lyon</i>	<i>The Lord Thomas Howard.</i>
<i>The Bear</i>	<i>The Lord Sheffeld.</i>
<i>The Elizabeth Jonas</i>	<i>Sir Robert Southwell.</i>
<i>The Triumph</i>	<i>Sir Martin Forbisher.</i>
<i>The Victory</i>	<i>Sir John Hawkins.</i>
<i>The Hope</i>	<i>Capt. Crosse.</i>
<i>The Bonaventure</i>	<i>Capt. Reyman.</i>
<i>The Dread-nought</i>	<i>Capt. George Beeston.</i>
<i>The Nonperil</i>	<i>Capt. Thomas Fenner.</i>
<i>The Rainbow</i>	<i>The Lord Henry Seymore.</i>
<i>The Vanntgward</i>	<i>Sir William Winter.</i>
<i>The Mary Rose</i>	<i>Capt. Fenton.</i>

*The*

<i>The Antilope</i>	<i>Sir Henry Palmer.</i>
<i>The Foresight</i>	
<i>The Ayde</i>	<i>Capt. Barker.</i>
<i>The Swallow</i>	
<i>The Tyger</i>	<i>Capt. Fenner.</i>
<i>The Scout</i>	
<i>The Swiftsure</i>	<i>Capt. Hawkins.</i>
<i>The Bull</i>	
<i>The Tremontary</i>	<i>Capt. Bostock.</i>
<i>The Acatice</i>	
<i>Pinnaces, Gallies, Hoyes—10</i>	<i>Capt. Ashley.</i>

Notwithstanding the great spoil and hurt *Sir Francis Drake* did the year past in *Cadiz* Road, by intercepting some part of the Provisions intended for this great Navy, the King of *Spain* used his utmost endeavours to revenge himself this year, left in taking longer time his Designs might be prevented as before, and arrested all Ships, Men, and necessaries wanting for his Fleet, and compell'd them per force to leave in this Action.

He appointed for General the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, a man imployed rather for his Birth than Experience; for so many Dukes, Marqueses, and Earls, voluntarily going, would have repined to have been commanded by a man of less quality than themselves. They departed from *Lisbon* the 19th. day of *May* 1588, with the greatest pride and glory, and least doubt of Victory, that ever any Nation did; but God being angry with their insolence, disposed of them contrary to their expectation.

The directions from the King of *Spain* to his General were, to repair as wind and weather would give leave, to the Road of *Callice* in *Piccardy*, there to abide the coming of the Prince of *Parma* and his Army, and upon their meeting to have opened a Letter directed to them both with further Instructions.

He was especially commanded to sail along the Coasts of *Brittany* and *Normandy*, to avoid being discovered by us here; and if he met with the *English* Fleet, not to offer to fight, but onely seek to defend themselves. But when he came athwart the North Cape, he was taken with a contrary wind and foul weather and forced into the Harbour of the *Groyne*, where part of his Fleet lay attending his coming. As he was ready to depart from thence, they had intelligence by an *English* Fisherman, whom they took Prisoner, of our Fleets late being at Sea, and putting back again, not expecting their coming that year; insomuch that most part of the Men belonging to our Ships were discharged.

This Intelligence made the Duke alter his Resolution, and to break the Directions given him by the King; yet this was not done without some difficulty, for the Council was divided in their Opinions, some held it best to observe the Kings Command, others not to lose the opportunity offered to surprize our Fleet unawares, and burn and destroy them.

*Diego Flores de Valdos*, who had the command of the *Andalusian* Squadron, and on whom the Duke most relied, because of his experience and judgment, was the main man that perswaded the Attempt of our Ships in Harbour, and with that resolution they directed their course for *England*.

The first Land they fell with was the *Lizard*, the Southermost part of *Cornwall*, which they took to be the *Rams Head* athwart *Plymouth*, and the night being at hand they tacked off to Sea, making account in the morning to make an Attempt upon our Ships in *Plymouth*.

But

But whilest they were thus deceived in the Land, they were in the mean time discovered by Capt. *Flemminge* a Pyrat, who had been at Sea pilfering, and upon view of them, knowing them to be the *Spanish* Fleet, repaired with all speed to *Plymouth*, and gave warning and notice to our Fleet, who were then riding at Anchor; whereupon my Lord Admiral hastened with all possible expedition to get forth the Ships, and before the *Spaniards* could draw near *Plymouth*, they were welcomed at Sea by my Lord and his Navy, who continued fight with them untill he brought them to an Anchor at *Callice*. The particulars of the Fight, and the Successes thereof, being things so well known, I purposely omit.

While this Armado was preparing, Her Majesty had from time to time perfect intelligence of the *Spaniards* Designs; and because she knew his intent was to invade her at Sea with a mighty Fleet from his own Coast, she furnished out her Royal Navy under the Conduct of the Lord High Admiral of *England*, and sent him to *Plymouth*, as the likeliest place to attend their coming, as you have heard.

Then knowing that it was not the Fleet alone that could endanger her safety, for that they were too weak for any Enterprize on Land, without the assistance of the Prince of *Parma*, and his Army in *Flanders*; therefore she appointed 30 Sail of *Holland* Ships to lie at an Anchor before the Town of *Dunkirk*, where the Prince was to imbarque in Flat-bottom'd Boats, made purposely for the Expedition of *England*.

Thus had the Prince by the Queens Providence been prevented, if he had attempted to put out of Harbour with his Boats; but in truth neither his Vessels nor his Army were in readiness, which caused the King ever after to be jealous of him, and as 'tis supposed to hasten his end.

Her Majesty, notwithstanding this her vigilant care to foresee and prevent all danger that might happen at Sea, would not hold her self too secure of her Enemy, and therefore prepared a Royal Army to welcom him upon his Landing; but it was not the will of God that he should set foot on *English* ground, the Queen becoming Victorious over him at Sea, with little hazard or bloodshed of her Subjects.

Having shewed the Design of the *Spaniards*, and the course taken by Her Majesty to prevent them; I will now collect the Errors committed as well by the one as by the other, as I have promised in the beginning of my Discourse.

As nothing could appear more rational and likely to take effect, after the Duke had gotten intelligence of the state of our Navy, than his design to surprize them unawares in Harbour, he well knowing that if he had taken away our strength by Sea, he might have landed both when and where he listed, which is a great advantage to an Invader; yet admitting it had took that effect he designed, I see not how he was to be commended in breaking the Instructions given him by the King, what blame then did he deserve, when so ill an event followed by his rashness and disobedience?

It was not the want of Experience in the Duke, or his laying the fault upon *Valdes*, that excused him at his return; but he had smarted bitterly for it, had it not been for his Wife, who obtained the Kings favour for him.

Before th' Arrival of the Ships that escaped in this Voyage, it was known in *Spain*, that *Diego Flores de Valdes* was he who persuaded the Duke to break the Kings Instructions; whereupon the King gave commandment in all his Ports, where the said *Diego Flores de Valdes* might arrive, to apprehend him; which was accordingly executed, and he carried to the Castle of *Santa Andrea*, and was never seen or heard of after.



If the Kings Directions had been punctually followed, then had his Fleet kept the Coast of *France*, and arrived in the Road of *Callice* before they had been discovered by us, which might have endangered Her Majesty and the Realm, our Ships being so far off as *Plymouth*, where then they lay; and though the Prince of *Parma* had not been presently ready, yet he had gained time sufficient by the absence of our Fleet to make himself ready.

And whereas the Prince was kept in by the 30 Sail of *Hollanders*, so many of the Dukes Fleet might have been able to have put the *Hollanders* from the Road of *Dunkirk*, and possess it themselves, and so have secured the Army and Fleets meeting together; and then how easie it had been after their joyning to have transported themselves for *England*? And what would have ensued upon their Landing here may be well imagined.

But it was the will of him that directs all men and their actions, that the Fleets should meet, and the Enemy be beaten as they were, put from their Anchorage in *Callice* Road, the Prince of *Parma* beleaguered at Sea, and their Navy driven about *Scotland* and *Ireland* with great hazard and loss; which sheweth how God did marvellously defend us against their dangerous Designs.

And here was opportunity offered us to have followed the Victory upon them; for after they were beaten from the Road at *Callice*, and all their hopes and designs frustrated; if we had once more offered them fight, the General by persuation of his Confessor was determined to yield, whose example 'tis very likely would have made the rest to have done the like. But this opportunity was lost, not through the negligence or backwardness of the Lord Admiral, but merely through the want of Providence in those that had the charge of furnishing and providing for the Fleet; for at that time of so great advantage, when they came to examine their Provisions, they found a general scarcity of Powder and Shot, for want whereof they were forced to return home. Another opportunity was lost not much inferiour to the other, by not sending part of our Fleet to the West of *Ireland*, where the *Spaniards* of necessity were to pass after so many dangers and disasters as they had endured.

If we had been so happy as to have followed this course, as it was both thought and discoursed of; we had been absolutely victorious over this great and formidable Navy, for they were brought to that necessity, that they would willingly have yielded, as divers of them confess'd that were shipwreck'd in *Ireland*.

By this we may see how weak and feeble the designs of Men are, in respect of the Creator of Man, and how indifferently he dealt betwixt the two Nations, sometimes giving one, sometimes the other, the advantage; and yet so that he onely ordered the Battel.



*The Action of Portugal, 1589.*

Ships.	Commanders by Sea.	Commanders by Land.
<i>The Revenge</i>	<i>Sir Francis Drake</i>	<i>Sir John Norris</i>
<i>The Dread-nought</i>	<i>Capt. Thomas Fenner</i>	<i>Sir Edward Norris</i>
<i>The Ayde</i>	<i>Capt. William Fenner</i>	<i>Sir Henry Norris</i>
<i>The Nonperil</i>	<i>Capt. Sackville</i>	<i>Sir Roger Williams</i>
<i>The Foresight</i>	<i>Capt. William Winter</i>	<i>Serjeant Major</i>
<i>The Swiftsure</i>	<i>Capt. Goring</i>	<i>Earl of Essex Volantier</i>

THE last overthrow of 1588 given to the Invincible Fleet, as they termed themselves, did so encourage every man to the War, as happy was he that could put himself into Action against the Spaniards, as it appeared by the Voluntiers that went in this Voyage; which the Queen (considering the great loss the King of Spain received in the year past, whereby it was to be imagined how weakly he was provided at home) was willing to countenance, though she undertook it not wholly her self, which was the main cause of its ill success and overthrow.

For whosoever he be of a Subject, that thinks to undertake so great an Enterprize without a Prince's Purse, shall be deceived; and therefore these two Generals in my opinion never overshot themselves more, than in undertaking so great a charge with so little means; for where there are Victuals and Arms wanting, what hope is there of prevailing?

The project of this Voyage was to restore a distressed King to his Kingdom, usurped as he pretended; and though the means for the setting forth of this Voyage was not so great as was expedient; yet in the opinion of all men, if they had directed their course whither they intended it, without landing at the Groyne, they had performed the Service they went for, restored Don Antonio to the Crown of Portugal, dislevered it from Spain, and united it in League with England, which would have answered the present charge, and have settled a continual Trade for us to the West Indies, and the rest of the Portugals Dominions, for so we might easily have conditioned.

But the Landing at the Groyne was an unnecessary lingering and hindrance of the other great and main design, a consuming of Victuals, a weakening of the Army by the immoderate drinking of the Souldiers, which brought a lamentable Sicknes amongst them, a warning to the Spaniards to strengthen Portugal, and (as great as all this) a discouragement to proceed further being repulsed in the first Attempt.

But notwithstanding the ill success at the Groyne, they departed from thence towards Portugal, and arrived at Penech, a Maritime Town twelve Leagus from Lisbon, where with a small resistance they took the Castle, after the Captain understood Don Antonio to be in the Army.

From thence General Norris marched with his Land Forces to Lisbon, and Sir Francis Drake with his Fleet sailed to Caske Cadiz, promising from thence to pass with his Ships up the River to Lisbon, to meet with Sir John Norris, which yet he did not perform, and therefore was much blamed by the general consent of all men, the overthrow of the Action being imputed to him.

It will not excuse Sir *Francis Drake*, for making such a Promise to Sir *John Norris*, though, on the other hand, I would have accused him of great want of Discretion, if he had put the Fleet to so great an Adventure to so little purpose: For his being in the Harbor of *Lisbon*, signified nothing to the Taking of the Castle, which was two Miles from thence; and had the Castle been taken, the Town would have been taken of course.

Besides, the Ships could not furnish the Army with more Men or Victuals: wherefore I understand not in what Respect his going up was necessary; and yet the Fleet must have endured many Hazards to this little purpose.

For betwixt *Cask Cadix* and *Lisbon*, there are three Castles, *St. John*, *St. Francis*, and *Bellin*. The first of the three, I hold one of the most impregnable Forts to Sea-ward in *Europe*; and the Fleet was to pass within Calliver Shot of this Fort; though I confess, the passing it, was not the greatest Dander: For with a reasonable Gale of Wind, any Fort is to be passed with small Hazard.

But at this time there was a General Want of Victuals; and being once entred the Harbour, their coming out again was uncertain, the place being subject to contrary Winds: In the mean while, the better part of the Victuals would have been consumed, and they would have remained there in so desperate a Condition, as they would have been forced to have fired one half of the Fleet, for the bringing home of the rest: for being as they were, yet after the Army was imbarqued for *England*, many died of Famine Homeward, and more would have done, if the Wind had took them short; or, if by the Death of some of them, the rest who survived had not been the better relieved.

And besides all these Casualties and Dangers, the *Adilantado* was then in *Lisbon* with the Gallies of *Spain*; and how easily he might have annoyed our Fleet, by towing Fire-ships amongst us: We may suppose the Hurt we did the *Spaniards* the Year before in *Cadix* Road; and greater we had done them, had we had the Help of Gallies.

It was a wonder to observe every man's Opinion of this Voyage, as well those that were Actors in it, as others that staid at Home; some imputing the Overthrow of it, to the Landing at the *Groyne*; others to the *Portugalls* failing us of those Helps and Assistances which were promised by *Don Antonio*; and others, to Sir *Francis Drake's* not coming up the River with his Fleet.

Though any of these three Reasons may seem probable enough, and the Landing at the *Groyne*, the chiefest of the three; yet if we weigh truly the Defect, and where it was, it will appear, that the Action was overthrown before their setting out from Home, they being too weakly provided of all things needful for so great an Expedition.

For when this Voyage was first treated of, the Number of Ships was nothing equal to the Proportion of Men: Wherefore they were forced to make Stay of divers *Easterlings* which they met with in our Channel, and compelled to serve in this Action, for the Transportation of our Souldiers; and though these Ships were an Ease to our Men, who would have been otherwise much pestered for want of Room; yet their Victuals were nothing augmented; but they were put aboard the Ships, like banished men, to seek their Fortunes at Sea, it being confessed, that divers of the Ships had not four days Victuals when they departed from *Plymouth*.

Another?

Another Impediment to the good Success of this Voyage, was, the want of Field-Pieces; and this was the main Cause why we failed of taking *Lisbon*: For the Enemies Strength consisting chiefly in the Castle, and we having only an Army to countenance us, but no means for Battery, we were the Loss of the Victory our selves: For it was apparent by Intelligence we received, that if we had presented them with Battery, they were resolved to parly, and by Consequence to yield; and this too was made use of by the *Portugalls*, as a main Reason why they joyned not with us.

And there is as much to be said on the *Portugalls* behalf, as an Evidence of their good Will and Favor to us, that though they shewed themselves forward upon this Occasion, to aid us, yet they opposed not themselves as Enemies against us: Whereas if they had pursued us in our Retreat from *Lisbon* to *Cash Cadiz*, our Men being weak, sickly, and wanting Powder, and Shot, and other Arms, they had in all probability put us to a great Loss and Disgrace. And if ever *England* have the like Occasion to aid a Competitor in *Portugal*, we shall questionless find, that our fair Demeanor and Carriage in this Expedition towards the People of that Countrey, have gained us great Reconciliation among them, and would be of singular Advantage to us: For the General strictly forbad the Rifling of their Houses in the Country, and the Suburbs of *Lisbon*, which he possess'd, and commanded, just Payment to be made by the Souldiers for every thing they took, without Compulsion, or rigorous Usage: And this hath made those that stood but indifferently affected before, now ready upon the like Occasion to assist us.

*A Voyage undertaken by the Earl of Cumberland;  
with one Ship Royal of her Majesties, and six of his  
own, and of other Adventures, Anno Dom. 1589.*

## Ships.

*The Victory  
The Margaret,  
And Five other*

## Commanders.

*The Earl of Cumberland  
Capt. Christopher Lister  
Capt. Monson, now Sir William  
Monson, Vice-Amiral.*

As the Fleets of Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake, returned from the Voyage of *Portugal*, my Lord of *Cumberland* proceeded upon his, towards that Coast; and meeting with divers of that Fleet, relieved them with Victuals, who otherwise had perished.

This Voyage was undertaken at his and his Friends Charge, excepting the *Victory*, a Ship Royal of the Queen's, which he adventured.

The Service performed at Sea, was the taking of three *French* Ships of the League in our Channel, and his encountring upon the Coast of *Spain*, with Thirteen Hulks, who made some Resistance. Out of these he took to the Value of 7000 *l.* in Spices belonging to *Portugal*.

From thence he crossed over to the Island of *Terceras*, and coming to *St. Michaels*, with Boats he fetched out two *Spanish* Ships from under the Castle, which the same Night arrived out of *Spain*.



In this Course, from thence to *Flores*, he took a *Spanish* Ship, laden with Sugars and Sweet-meats that came from the *Maderas*.

Being at *Flores*, he received Intelligence of divers *Spanish* Ships, which were in the Road of *Fajal*, whereupon he suddainly made from that Island, where Captain *Lifter* and Captain *Monson* gave a desperate Attempt in their Boats upon the said Ships; and after along Fight possessed themselves of one of them of 300 Tuns Burden, carrying Eighteen Pieces of Ordinance, and Fifty Men. This Ship, with one other, came from the *Indies*, two of the rest out of *Guiney*, and another was Laden with Woad which that Island affords in great Plenty; who putting from thence to Sea, and coming to the Island of *Graciosa*, after two days Fight, yielded us by Composition some Victuals: Off that Island we likewise took a *French* Ship of the *League*, of 200 Tuns, that came from *New-found-land*.

Afterwards, Sailing to the *Eastward* of the Road of *Terceras*, in the Evening we beheld 18 Tall Ships of the *Indies*, entring into the said Road, one whereof we after took in her Course to the Coast of *Spain*: She was laden with Hides, Silver and *Cochineal*; but coming for *England*, she was cast away upon the *Mounts Bay* in *Cornwall*, being valued at 100000 l.

Two other Prizes of Sugar we took in our said Course to the Coast of *Spain*, esteemed each Ship at 7000 l. and one from under the Castle of *St. Maries* to the same Value.

There was no Road about those Islands, that could defend their Ships from our Attempts; yet in the last Assault we gave, which was upon a Ship of Sugars, we found ill Success, being sharply resisted, and two parts of our Men slain and hurt: Which Loss was occasioned by Captain *Lifter*, who would not be persuaded from Landing in the View of their Forts.

The Service performed by Land, was the taking of the Island of *Fajal*, some months after the surprizing of those Ships formerly mentioned. The Castle yielded us 45 Pieces of Ordinance, great and small: We sacked and spoiled the Town, and after ransomed it, and so departed.

These Summer Services, and Ships of Sugar, proved not so sweet and pleasant as the Winter was afterwards sharp and painful: For in our Return for *England*, we found the Calamity of Famine, the Hazard of Shipwrack and the Death of our Men so great, that the like befell not any other Fleet during the time of the War. All which Disasters must be imputed to Captain *Lifter's* Rashness, upon whom my Lord of *Cumberland* chiefly relied, wanting Experience himself.

He was the man that advised the sending the Ships of Wine for *England*, otherwise we had not known the Want of Drink; he was as earnest in persuading our Landing in the Face of the Fortifications of *St. Maries*, against all Reason and Sense. As he was rash, so was he valiant; but paid dearly for his unadvised Counsel: For he was one of the first hurt, and that cruelly, in the Attempt of *St. Maries*, and afterward drowned in the Rich Ship, cast away at *Mounts Bay*.

Sir



*Sir John Hawkins, and Sir Martin Forbisher, their  
Voyage undertaken, Anno. 1590.*

## Ships.

*The Revenge  
The Mary-Rose  
The Lyon  
The Bonaventure  
The Rainbow  
The Hope  
The Crane  
The Quittance  
The Foresight  
The Swiftscur.*

## Commanders.

*Sir Martin Forbisher  
Sir John Hawkins  
Sir Edward Tarke  
Capt. Fenner  
Capt. George Beeston  
Capt. Bostock  
Capt. Burnell*

From the Year 1585. untill this present Year 1590. there was the greatest possibility imaginable of enriching our Nation, by Actions at Sea, had they been well followed; the King of Spain was grown so weak in Shipping, by the Overthrow he had in 1588, that he could no longer secure the Trade of his Subjects.

Her Majesty now finding how necessary it was for her to maintain a Fleet upon the Spanish Coast, as well to hinder the Preparations he might make against Her, to repair the Disgrace he received in 1588: as also to intercept his Fleets from the Indies, by which he grew Great and Mighty.

She sent this Year 1590. Ten Ships of her own, in two Squadrons; the one to be Commanded by Sir John Hawkins, the other by Sir Martin Forbisher, two Gentlemen of tried Experience.

The King of Spain understanding of this Preparation of hers, sent forth 20 Sail of Ships, under the Command of Don Alonso de Bassan, Brother to the late Famous Marquess of St. Cruz. His Charge was to secure home the Indian Fleet and Carrecks.

But after Don Alonso had put off to Sea, the King of Spain becoming better advised, than to adventure 20 of his Ships to 10 of ours, sent for Don Alonso back, and so frustrated the Expectation of our Fleet.

He likewise made a Dispatch to the Indies, commanding the Fleets to Winter there, rather than to run the hazard of coming Home that Summer: But this proved so great a Hindrance and Loss to the Merchants of Spain, to be so long without Return of their Goods, that it caused many to become Bankrupts, in Sevil and other places; besides, which was so great a weakening to their Ships, to Winter in the Indies, that many years hardly sufficed to repair the Damage they received.

Our Fleet being thus prevented, spent seven months in vain upon the Coasts of Spain, and the Islands; but in that space, could not possess themselves of one Ship of the Spaniards; and the Carrecks, upon which part of their Hopes depended, came Home without Sight of the Islands, and arrived safe at Lisbon.

This

This Voyage was a bare Action at Sea, though they attempted Landing at *Fayal*, which the Earl of *Cumberland*, the year before had taken and quitted; but the Castle being re-fortified, they prevailed not in their Enterprize: And thence forwards the King of *Spain* endeavored to strengthen his Coasts, and to encrease in Shipping, as may appear by the next ensuing Year.

*Two Fleets, the one by Us, under the Lord Thomas Howard, the other by the Spaniards, Commanded by Don Alonso de Bassan, Anno 1591.*

Ships.	Commanders.
<i>The Defiance</i>	<i>The Lord Thomas Howard</i>
<i>The Revenge</i>	<i>Sir Richard Greenville, Vice-admiral</i>
<i>The Nonperil</i>	<i>Sir Edward Denny</i>
<i>The Bonaventure</i>	<i>Capt. Crosse</i>
<i>The Lyon</i>	<i>Capt. Fenner</i>
<i>The Foresight</i>	<i>Capt. Vavasor</i>
<i>The Crane</i>	<i>Capt. Duffield.</i>

**H**ER Majesty understanding of the *Indian Fleets* Wintering in the *Havana*, and that Necessity would compell them home this Year 1591. she sent a Fleet to the Islands under the Command of the Lord *Thomas Howard*.

The King of *Spain* perceiving her Drift, and being sensible how much the safety of that Fleet concerned him, caused them to set out thence so late in the Year, that it endangered the Shipwrack of them all; chosing rather to hazard the perishing of Ships, Men and Goods, than their falling into our Hands.

He had two Designs in bringing home this Fleet so late: One was, he thought the Lord *Thomas* would have consumed his Victuals, and have been forced Home. The other, that he might in the mean time furnish out the great Fleet he was preparing, little inferior to that of 1588. In the first he found himself deceived: For my Lord was supplied both with Ships and Victuals out of *England*; and in the second, he was as much prevented: For my Lord of *Cumberland*, who then lay upon the Coast of *Spain*, had Intelligence of the *Spaniards* putting out to Sea, and advertised the Lord *Thomas* thereof, the very Night before they arrived at *Flores*, where my Lord lay.

The day after this Intelligence, the *Spanish Fleet* was discovered by my Lord *Thomas*, whom he knew by their Number and Greatness, to be the Ships of which he had warning; and by that means escaped the Danger that Sir *Richard Greenville*, his Vice-admiral rashly ran into. Upon View of the *Spaniards*, which were 55 Sail, the Lord *Thomas* warily, and like a discreet General, weighed Anchor, and made Signs to the rest of his Fleet to do the like, with a purpose to get the Wind of them; but Sir *Richard Greenville*, being a stubborn man, and imagining this Fleet to come from the *Indies*, and not to be the *Armado* of which they were informed, would  
by

by no means be persuaded by his Master, or Company to cut his main Sail, to follow his Admiral; nay, so head-strong and rash he was, that he offered violence to those that counselled him thereto.

But the Old Saying, that a wilful man is the Cause of his own Woe, could not be more truly verified than in him: For when the *Armado* approached him, and he beheld the Greatness of the Ships, he began to see and repent of his Folly; and when it was too late, would have freed himself of them, but in vain: For he was left a Prey to the Enemy, every Ship striving to be the first should board him.

This wilful Rashness of Sir *Richard*, made the *Spaniards* triumph as much as if they had obtained a Signal Victory; it being the first Ship that ever they took of Her Majesties, and commended to them by some English Fugitives to be the very best she had; but their Joy continued not long. For they enjoyed her but five days before she was cast away with many *Spaniards* in her, upon the Islands of *Tercera*.

Commonly one Misfortune is accompanied with another: For the *Indian Fleet*, which my Lord had waited for the whole Summer, the day after this mishap, fell into the Company of this *Spanish Armado*: who, if they had staid but one day longer, or the *Indian Fleet* had come home but one day sooner, we had possessed both them and many millions of Treasure, which the Sea afterward devoured: For from the time they met with the *Armado*, and before they could recover home, nigh an hundred of them suffered Shipwrack, besides the *Ascension of Sevil*, and the double Fly-boat, that were sunk by the side of the *Revenge*.

All which was occasioned by their Wintering in the *Indies*, and the late Disambogueing from thence: For the Worm which that Country is subject to, weakens and consumes their Ships.

Notwithstanding this cross and perverse Fortune, which happened by means of Sir *Richard Greenville*, the Lord *Thomas* would not be dismayed or discouraged; but kept the Sea so long as he had Victuals; and by such Ships as himself and the rest of the Fleet took, defrayed the better part of the Charge of the whole Action.

### *The Earl of Cumberland to the Coast of Spain, 1591.*

#### *Ships.*

*The Garland of her Majesties.  
Seven other Ships of his and his Friends*

#### *Commanders.*

*The Earl of Cumberland.  
Capt. under him  
Capt. Monson, now Sir William Monson.*

**T**HE Earl of *Cumberland* keeping the Coast of *Spain*, as you have heard, while the Lord *Thomas* remained at the Islands, and both to one end, viz. to annoy and damnifie the *Spaniards*, though in two several Fleets, the Earl found Fortune in a sort, as much to frown upon him, as it had done upon the Lord *Thomas Howard*.



In his Course from *England* to the *Spanish Coast*, he encountred with divers Ships of *Holland*, which came from *Lisbon*, wherein he found a great quantity of Spices belonging to the *Portugalls*: So greatly were we abused by that Nation of *Holland*, who, though they were the first that engaged us in the War with *Spain*, yet still maintained their own Trade into those parts, and supplied the *Spaniards* with Munition, Victuals Shipping and Intelligence against us.

Upon my Lord's Arrival on the Coast of *Spain*, it was his hap to take three Ships at several times, one with Wine, which he unladed into his own; and two with Sugars, which he enjoyed not long: no more did he the Spices, which he took out of the *Hollanders*.

For one of the Ships of Sugar, by means of a Leak that sprung upon her, was forced to be cast off, and the men, with much difficulty, recovered the Shore, and saved their Lives.

The other being sent for *England*, and tossed with contrary Winds, was for want of Victuals forced into the *Groyw*, where they rend'ed themselves to the Enemies mercy.

The Spices were determined to be sent for *England*, and a Ship appointed for that purpose, with other Ships to guard her; and Captain *Monson* was sent on Board her to the Islands of the *Burlings*, with a Charge to see her dispatched for *England*.

But the other Ships, not observing the Directions which were given them, and the Night falling calm; early in the Morning, this scattered Ship was set upon by six Gallies; and after a long and bloody Fight, the Captain, and the Principallest men being slain, both Ship and Spices were taken; but whether it was the respect they had to the Queen's Ship which was Admiral of that Fleet, or Honor to my Lord that commanded it; or Hope, by good Usage of our men, to receive the like again, I know not; but true it is, that the ordinary men were treated with more Courtesie than they had been from the beginning of the Wars.

My Lord of *Cumberland* considering the Disasters that thus befell him, and knowing the *Spanish Fleet's* readiness to put out of Harbor; but especially finding his Ship but ill of Sail, it being the first Voyage she ever went to Sea, he durst not abide the Coast of *Spain*, but thought it more Discretion to return for *England*, having (as you have heard) sent a Pinnace to my Lord *Thomas* with the Intelligence aforesaid.

*A Voyage undertook by Sir Walter Rawleigh; but himself returning, left the Charge thereof to Sir Martin Forbisher, Anno 1592.*

Ships.	Commanders by Sea.	Commander by Land.
The <i>Garland</i> The <i>Forefight</i> , with divers Merchants Ships.	Sir Walter Rawleigh Capt. Cross, and others. Sir Walter went not, but Sir Martin Forbisher.	Sir John Boroughs.

SIR *Walter Rawleigh*, who had tasted abundantly of the Queen's Love, and found it now began to decline, put himself upon a Voyage at Sea, and drew unto him divers friends of great Quality, and others, thinking to have attempted some place in the *West Indies*; and with this resolution he put out of Harbour; but spending two or three days in fowl Weather, Her Majesty was pleased to command his Return, and to commit the Charge of the Ships to Sir *Martin Forbisher*, who was sent down for that purpose; but with an express Command, not to follow the Design of the *West Indies*.

This suddain Alteration being known unto the rest of the Captains, for the present made some Confusion, as commonly it happens in all voluntary Actions. Their General leaving them, they thought themselves free in point of Reputation, and at liberty to take what course they pleased: Few of them therefore did submit themselves to the Command of Sir *Martin Forbisher*, but chose rather each one to take his particular Fortune and Adventure at Sea.

Sir *Martin*, with two or three other Ships, repaired to the Coast of *Spain*, where he took a *Spaniard* laden with Iron, and a *Portugal* with Sugar: He remained there not without some danger, his Ship being ill of Sail, and the Enemy having a Fleet at Sea.

Sir *John Borroughs*, Captain *Cross*, and another, stood to the Islands, where they met with as many Ships of my Lord of *Cumberland's*, with whom they consoorted. After some time spent thereabouts, they had sight of a Carreck, which they chased; but she recovered the Island of *Flores* before they could approach her; but the Carreck, seeing the Islands could not defend her from the Strength and Force of the English, chose rather, after the men were got on Shore to fire her self, than we the Enemy should reap Benefit by her.

The Purser of her was taken, and by Threats compell'd to tell of another of their Company behind, that had Order to fall with that Island; and gave us such particular Advertisement, that indeed she fell to be ours.

In the meantime *Don Alonso de Bassan* was furnishing at *Lisbon* 23 of those Gallions, which the Year before he had when he took the *Revenge*; he was directed with those Ships to go immediately to *Flores*, to expect the coming of the Carrecks, who had order to fall with that Island, there to put on Shore divers Ordnance for strengthening the Town and Castle.

*Don Alonso* breaking his Directions, unadvisedly made his repair first to *St. Michaels*, and there delivered his Ordnance before he arrived at *Flores*; and in the mean time one of the Carrecks was burnt, and the other taken, as you have heard.

This he held to be such a Disreputation to him, and especially for that it happened through his own Error and Default, that he became much perplex'd, and pursued the English 100 Leagues; but in vain, they being so far a Head.

The King of *Spain* being advertised of his two Carrecks misthap, and the Error of *Don Alonso*, though he had much favored him before, in respect of divers Actions he had been in with his Brother, the Marquess of *St. Cruz*, and for what he had lately performed, by taking the *Revenge*: Yet—the King held it for such a Blemish to his Honor, not to have his Instructions obeyed; and observed, that he did not only take from *Don Alonso* his Command; but he lived and died too in Disgrace; which, in my Opinion, he worthily deserved.

The Queens Adventure in this Voyage, was only two Ships; one of which, and the least of them too, was at the taking of the Carreck; which title, joyned with her Regal Authority, she made such use of, that the rest of the Adventurers were fain to submit themselves to her Pleasure, with whom she dealt but indifferently.

*The Earl of Cumberland to the Coast of Spain,  
Anno Dom. 1593.*

## Ships.

*The Lyon  
The Bonaventure, and seven  
other Ships.*

## Commanders.

*The Earl of Cumberland  
Capt. under him, Capt. Monson  
Sir Edward Torke.*

**T**HE Earl of Cumberland finding, that many of his Voyages had miscarried through the Negligence, or Unfaithfulness of those who were entrusted to lay in necessary Provisions; and yet, being encouraged by the good Success he had the last year, obtained two of her Majesty's Ships, and Victualled them himself, together with seven others that did accompany them; and arriving upon the Coast of Spain, He took two French Ships of the League, which did more than treble the Expence of his Voyage. My Lord, being one day severed from his Fleet, it was his hap to meet with 12 Hulks, at the same place where Captain Monson was taken the same day two years before: He required that Respect from them that was due unto Her Majesties Ship, which they peremptorily refused, presuming upon the Strength of their 12 Ships against one only; but they found themselves deceived: For after two hours Fight he brought them to his Mercy, and made them acknowledge their Error; and not only so, but they willingly discovered, and delivered up to him a great quantity of Powder and Munition, which they carried for the King of Spain's Service.

My Lord of Cumberland having spent some time thereabouts, and understanding that *Fervanteles de Menega*, a Portugal, and the King's General of a Fleet of 24 Sail, was gone to the Islands; he pursued them, thinking to meet the Carrecks before they should joyn together. At his coming to *Flores*, he met, and took one of the Fleet, with the Death of the Captain, who yet lived so long as to inform him both where the Fleet was, and of their Strength: The day after, he met the Fleet it self; but being far too weak for them, he was forced to leave them, and spent his time thereabouts, till he understood the Carrecks were passed by, without seeing either Fleet or Island.

Sir



*Sir Martin Forbisher, with a Fleet to Brest in  
Brittany, Anno 1594.*

Ships.	Commanders.
<i>The Vauntguard The Rainbow The Dreadnought The Quittance.</i>	<i>Sir Martin Forbisher Capt. Fenner Capt. Clifford Capt. Savil</i>

**A**Bout three years past, Anno 1591. the Queen sent Sir John Norris with 3000 Souldiers, to joyn with the French King's Party in those Parts. The King of Spain, who upheld the Faction of the League, sent Don John de Aquila with the like Forces, to joyn with the Duke de Mercœur, who was of the contrary side. The Spaniards had fortified themselves very strongly near the Town of Brest, expecting new Succors from Spain by Sea; which the French King fearing, craved Assistance from the Queen, which her Majesty was the more willing to grant, because the Spaniards had gotten the Haven of Brest to entertain their Shipping in, and were like to prove there very dangerous Neighbors: Wherefore she sent Sir Martin Forbisher thither in this year, 1594, with four of her Ships: And upon his Arrival there, Sir John Norris, with his Forces, and Sir Martin with his Seamen, assailed the Fort; and though it was as bravely defended as men could do; yet in the end it was taken with the loss of divers Captains, Sir Martin Forbisher being himself fore wounded, of which Hurt he died at Plymouth after his return.

*A Fleet to the Indies, Sir Francis Drake, and Sir  
John Hawkins Generals, wherein they adventured  
deeply, and died in the Voyage. Anno 1594*

Ships.	Commanders by Sea.	Commander by Land.
<i>The Defiance</i>	<i>Sir Francis Drake</i>	<i>Sir Tho. Baskerville</i>
<i>The Garland</i>	<i>Sir John Hawkins</i>	
<i>The Hope</i>	<i>Capt. Gilbert Yorke</i>	
<i>The Bonaventure</i>	<i>Capt. Troughton</i>	
<i>The Foresight</i>	<i>Capt. Winter</i>	
<i>The Adventure</i>	<i>Capt. Tho. Drake.</i>	

**T**Hese two Generals, presuming much upon their own Experience and Knowledge, used many Persuasions to the Queen, to undertake a Voyage to the West Indies, giving much assurance to perform great Services, and promising to engage themselves very deeply therein, with the Adventure of both Substance and Life. And as all Actions of this Nature pro-

mise fair, till they come to be performed, so did this the more, in the Opinion of all Men, in respect of the two Generals Experience.

There were many Impediments and Letts to this Voyage, before they could clear themselves of the Coast, which put them to greater Charge than they expected; the chiefest cause of their Lingring, was a mistrust our State had of an Invasion, and the Danger to spare so many good Ships and men out of *England* as they carried with them.

The *Spaniards* with their usual subtilty, let slip no opportunity to put us in amazement, thereby to dissolve the Action; and sent four Gallies to *Bleuret* in *Brittany*, from thence to seize some part of our Coast, that so we might apprehend a greater Force was to follow. These Gallies landed at *Pensants* in *Cornwall*, where, finding the Town abandoned, they sack'd and burnt it; but this Design of theirs took little effect; for the Voyage proceeded notwithstanding.

The Intent of the Voyage, was to land at *Nombre de dois*, and from thence to march to *Pannuma*, to possess the Treasure that comes from *Pern*; and if they saw reason for it, to inhabite and keep it. A few days before their going from *Plymouth*, they received Letters from her Majesty, of an Advertisement she had out of *Spain*, that the *Indian Fleet* was arrived; and that one of them, with loss of her Mast, was put room to the Island of *Porto Ricom*. She commanded them, seeing there was so good an opportunity offered, as the readines of this her Fleet, and the weakness of *Porto Ricom*, to possess themselves of that Treasure; and the rather, for that it was not much out of their way to *Nombre de dois*. It is neither Years, nor Experience, that can foresee and prevent all mishaps, which is a manifest Proof, that God is the Guider and Disposer of Mens Actions: For nothing could seem more probable to be effected, than this later Design, especially considering the Ability and Wisdom of the two Generals; and yet was unhappily prevented, and failed in the Execution: For there being five Frigats sent out of *Spain*, to fetch this Treasure from *Porto Ricom*, in their way it was their hap to take a Pinnace of the English Fleet, by whom they understood the Secrets of the Voyage; and to prevent the Attempt of *Porto Ricom*, they hastened thither with all speed (whilst our Generals lingred at *Quadrupa*, to set up their Boats) and at their Arrival, so strengthened the Town with the Souldiers, brought in the Frigats, that when our Fleet came thither, not expecting Resistance, they found themselves frustrate of their Hopes, which indeed they themselves were the occasion of, in managing their Design with no more Secresse. This Repulse bred so great a Disconceit in Sir *John Hawkins*, as it is thought to have hastened his days; and being great and unexpected, did not a little discourage Sir *Francis Drake's* great Mind, who yet proceeded upon his first resolved Design, for *Nombre de dios*, though with no better Success. For the Enemy having knowledge of their coming, fortified the Passage to *Pannuma*, and forced them to return with loss. Sir *Francis Drake*, who was wont to rule Fortune, now finding his Error, and the difference between the present strength of the *Indies*, and what it was when he first knew it, grew melancholly upon this Disappointment, and suddenly, and I hope naturally, died at *Nombre de dios*, where he got his first Reputation. The two Generals dying, and all other Hopes being taken away by their Deaths, Sir *Thomas Baskerville* succeeded them in their Command, and began now to think upon his return for *England*; but coming near *Cuba*, he met and fought with a Fleet of *Spain*, though not long, by reason of the Sickness and Weakness of his Men. This Fleet was sent to take the Advantage of ours in its Return,

turn thinking, as indeed it happened, that they should find them both weak, and in want; but the swiftness of our Ships, in which we had the Advantage of the Spaniards, preserved us. You may observe, that from the year the *Revenge* was taken, untill this present year 1595. there was no Summer, but the King of *Spain* furnished a Fleet for the guarding of his Coasts, and securing of his Trade; and though there was little fear of any Fleet from *England* to impeach him, besides this in the *Indies*; yet because he would shew his greatness, and satisfy the *Portugal* of the care he had in preserving their Carrecks; he sent the Count of *Feria*, a young Nobleman of *Portugal*, who desired to gain Experience, with 20 Ships to the Islands; but the Carrecks did, as they used to do in many other years, miss both Islands and Fleets, and arrived at *Lisbon* safely. The other Fleets of the King of *Spain* in the *Indies*, consisted of 24 Ships, their General *Don Bernardino de Villa nova*, an approved Coward, as it appeared when he came to encounter the *English* Fleet; but his Defects were supplied by the Valor of his Vice-admiral, who behaved himself much to his Honor: His Name was *John Garanay*.

*The Earl of Essex, and the Lord Admiral of England, Generals, equally, both by Sea and Land, Anno 1596.*

## Ships.

*The Repulse*  
*The Ark-royal*  
*The Mere-honor*  
*The War-spire*  
*The Lyon*  
*The Rainbow*  
*The Nonperil*  
*The Vannanguard*  
*The Mary Rose*  
*The Dreadnought*  
*The Swiftsuer*  
*The Quittance*  
*The Tremontary, with*  
*several others.*

## Commanders.

*The Earl of Essex.* Capt. under him  
*Sir Will. Monson*  
*The Lord Admiral.* Capt. under him  
*Ames Preston*  
*The Lord Thomas Howard*  
*Sir Walter Rawleigh*  
*Sir Robert Southwell*  
*Sir Francis Vere*  
*Sir Robert Dudley*  
*Sir John Wingfield*  
*Sir George Carew*  
*Sir Alexander Clifford*  
*Sir Robert Crosse*  
*Sir George Clifford*  
*Sir Robert Mansfield*  
*Capt. King.*

THE first of June 1596. we departed from *Plymouth*; and our Departure was the more speedy, by reason of the great pains, care and industry of the 16 Captains, who in their own Persons, labored the Night before, to get out some of their Ships, riding at *Catwater*, which otherwise had not been easily effected. The Third, we set Sail from *Cansom Bay*, the Wind, which when we weighed, was at *West* and by *South*, instantly cast up to the *North East*, and so continued untill it brought us up as high as

We



the *North Cape of Spain*; and this fortunate beginning put us in great hopes of a lucky Success to ensue.

We being now come upon our Enemies Coast, it behoved the Generals to be vigilant in keeping them from Intelligence of us, who therefore appointed the *Litnes*, the *True Love*, and the *Lion's Whelp* (the three chief Sailors of our Fleet) to run a Head, suspecting the *Spaniards* had some Carvels of Advice out, which they did usually send to discover at Sea, upon any Rumor of a less Fleet than this, was made ready in *England*.

No Ship or Carvel escaped from us, which I hold a second Happiness to our Voyage: For you shall understand hereafter, the Inconvenience that might have happened upon our Discovery.

The 10th. of *June*, the said three Ships, took three Fly-Boats that came from *Cadiz* 14 days before; by them we understood the State of the Town, and that they had no suspicion of us, which we looked on as a third Omen of our good Fortune to come.

The 12th. of *June*, the *Swan*, a Ship of *London*, being commanded, as the other three, to keep a good way off the Fleet, to prevent discovery, she met with a Fly-boat, which made Resistance, and escaped from her. This Fly-boat came from the *Streights*, bound Home, who discovering our Fleet, and thinking to gain Reputation and Reward from the *Spaniards*, shap'd her Course for *Lisbon*; but she was luckily prevented by the *John* and *Francis*, another Ship of *London*, commanded by Sir *Marmaduke Darrel*, who took her within a League of the Shore; and this we may account a fourth Happiness to our Voyage. The first (as hath been said) was for the Wind to take us so suddainly, and to continue so long: For our Souldiers being Shipped, and in Harbor, would have consumed their Victuals, and have been so pester'd, that it would have endangered a Sickness amongst them. The Second, was the taking all Ships that were seen, which kept the Enemy from Intelligence. The Third, was the intercepting of the Fly-Boats from *Cadiz*, whither we were bound, who assured us, our coming was not suspected, which made us more careful to hail from the Coast than otherwise we should have been: They told us likewise of the daily expectation of the Gallions to come from *St. Jacar* to *Cadiz*, and of the Merchantmen that lay there, and were ready bound for the *Indies*. These Intelligences were of great moment, and made the Generals presently to contrive their business both by Sea and Land, which otherwise would have taken up a longer time, after their coming thither, and whether all men would have consented to attempt their Ships in Harbor, if they had not known the most part of them to consist of Merchants, I hold very doubtful. The Fourth, and fortunatest of all, was the taking of the Fly-boat by the *John* and *Francis*, which the *Swan* let go: For if she had reached *Lisbon*, she had been able to make report of the number and greatness of our Ships, and might have endangered the loss of the whole Design, she seeing the course we bore, and that we had passed *Lisbon*, which was the place the Enemy most suspected, and made there his greatest preparation for Defence: But had the Enemy been freed of that doubt, he had then no place to fear but *Andaloxia* and *Cadiz* above the rest, which upon the least warning might have been strengthened, and we put to great Hazard; he might also have secured his Ships, by towing them out with Gallies; and howsoever the Wind had been, might have sent them into the *Streights*, where it had been in vain to have pursued them, or over the Bar of *St. Lucar*, where it had been in vain to have attempted them.

And

And indeed, of the good and ill of Intelligence, we had had sufficient experience formerly, Of the good in 1588. For how suddainly had we been taken and surprized when it we least suspected, had it not been for Captain *Flemming*? Of the ill in the year before this, by the *Spaniards* taking a Barque of Sir *Francis Drake's* Fleet, which was the Occasion of the Overthrow of himself and the whole Action?

The 20th. of *June* we came to *Cadiz*, earlier in the morning than the Masters made reckoning of. Before our coming thither, it was determined in Council, that we should land at *St. Sebastians*, the Westermost part of the Land; and thither came all the Ships to an Anchor, every man preparing to land as he was formerly directed; but the Wind being so great, and the Sea so grown, and four Gallies lying too, to intercept our Boats, there was no attempting to land there, without the hazard of all.

This day was spent in vain, in returning Messengers from one General to another; and in the end, they were forced to resolve upon a Course which Sir *William Monson*, Captain under my Lord of *Essex*, advised him to, the same morning he discovered the Town; which was to surprize the Ships, and to be possessors of the Harbor before they attempted landing.

This being now resolved on, there arose a great Question, who should have the Honor of the first going in? My Lord of *Essex* stood for himself; but my Lord Admiral opposed it, knowing if he miscarried, it would hazard the Overthrow of the Action; besides, he was streightly charged by Her Majesty, that the Earl should not expose himself to Danger, but upon great necessity.

When my Lord of *Essex* could not prevail, the whole Council withstanding him he sent Sir *William Monson* that night, on Board my Lord Admiral, to resolve what Ships should be appointed the next day to undertake the Service. Sir *Walter Rawleigh* had the *Vaward* given him, which my Lord *Thomas Howard* hearing, challenged in right of his place of Vice-admiral, and it was granted him; but Sir *Walter* having Order over night to ply in, came first to an Anchor; but in that distance from the *Spaniards* as he could not annoy them: And he himself returned on Board the Lord General *Essex*, to excuse his coming to Anchor so far off, for want of Water to go higher; which was thought strange, that the *Spaniards* which drew much more Water, and had no more Advantage than he of Tide, could pass where his could not: But Sir *Francis Vere*, in the *Rainbow*, who was appointed to second him, passing by Sir *Walter Rawleigh* his Ship, Sir *Walter* the second time, weighed and went higher. The Lord General *Essex*, who promised to keep in the midst of the Fleet, was told by Sir *William Monson*, that the greatest Service would depend upon three or four Ships; and Sir *William* put him in mind of his Honor; for that many Eyes beheld him.

This made him forgetful of his Promise, and to use all means he could to be formost in the Fight. My Lord *Howard*, who could not go up in his own Ship, the *Mere honor*, betook himself to the *Nonperil*; and in respect the *Rainbow*, the *Repulse* and *Warspight*, had taken up the best of the Channel, by their first coming to an Anchor, to his grief he could not get higher: Here did every Ship strive to be the headmost; but such was the narrowness of the Channel, as neither the Lord Admiral, nor any other Ship of the *Queens* could pass on. There was Commandment given, that no Ship should shoot but the *Queens*, making account, that the Honor would be the greater, if the Victory were obtained with so few. This Fight continued from Ten, till Four in the Afternoon: The *Spaniards* then set Sail,

thinking either to run higher up the River, or else to bring their other Broad Sides to us, because of the heat of their Ordnance; but howsoever it was, in their floating, they came a ground, and the men began to forsake the Ships: Whereupon there was Commandment given, that all the Hoys, and Vessels that drew least Water should go unto them. Sir *William Monson* was sent in the *Repulse* Boat, with like directions. We possess'd our selves of the great Gallions, the *Matthem*, and the *Andrew*; but the *Philip* and *Thomas* fired themselves, and were burnt down before they could be quenched.

I must not omit to describe the manner of the *Spanish* Ships and Gallies, riding in Harbor at our first coming to *Cadiz*. The four Gallions singled themselves from out the Fleet, as Guards of their Merchants. The Gallies were placed to flank us with their Prows before Entry; but when they saw our Approach, the next morning the Merchants ran up the River, and the Men of War of *Port Royal* to the Point of the River, brought themselves into a good Order of Fight, moving their Ships a Head and a Stern, to have their Broad Sides upon us. The Gallies then betook themselves to the Guard of the Town, which we put them from before we attempted the Ships.

The Victory being obtained at Sea, the L. General *Essex* landed his men in a Sandy Bay, which the Castle of *Poyntull* commanded; but they seeing the Success of their Ships, and mistrusting their own strength, neither offered to offend his Landing, nor to defend the Castle; but quitted it, and so we became Possessors of it.

After my Lord's peeceable Landing, he considered what was to be done; and there being no place from whence the Enemy could annoy us, but the Bridge of *Swasoe*, which leadeth over from the main Land to the Island; by our making good of which Bridge, there would be no way left for the Gallies to escape us. He sent three Regiments under the Command of Sir *Conniere Clifford*, Sir *Christopher Blunt*, and Sir *Thomas Garret* to the Bridge; who at their first coming were encountred by the Enemy, but yet possess'd themselves of it, with the loss of some men; but whether it was for want of Victuals, or for what other reasons, our men quitted it, I know not, and the Gallies breaking down divers Arches pass'd it, and by that means escaped.

My Lord dispatched a Messenger to my Lord Admiral, intreating him to give Order to attempt the Merchants that rode in *Port Royal*, for that it was dangerous to give them a Night's respite, lest they should convey away their Wealth, or take example by the *Philip* and *Thomas*, to burn themselves. This Message was delivered by Sir *Anthony Asbley*, and Sir *William Monson*, as my Lord Admiral was in his Boat, ready with his Toops of Seamen to land, fearing the Lord General *Essex* should be put to Distress with his small Companies, which were but three Regiments, hastened by all means to second him, and gave order to certain Ships the next day to pursue him.

Seeing I have undertaken to shew the Escapes committed in any of our *English* Voyages, such as were committed here, shall without Fear or Flattery appear to the Judicious Reader.

Though the Earl of *Essex* his Carriage and Forwardness merited much, yet if it had been with more Advise, and less Haste, it would have succeeded better: And if he were now living, he would confess, Sir *William Monson* advised him, rather to seek to be Master of the Ships, than of the Town; for it was that would afford both Wealth and Honor: For the Riches



Riches in Ships could not be concealed, or conveyed away as in Towns they might. And the Ships themselves being brought for *England*, would be always before mens Eyes there, and put them in remembrance of the greatness of the Exploit; as for the Town, perhaps it might be soon won, but probably not long enjoyed, and so quickly forgotten: And to speak indifferently, by the Earl's suddain Landing, without the Lord Admirals Privity; and his giving Advice by a Message to attempt the Ships, which should have been resolved of upon mature Deliberation, no doubt, the Lord Admiral found his Honor a little Eclipsed, which perhaps hastened his Landing for his Reputation sake, whenas he thought it more advisable to have possess'd himself of their Fleet.

Before the Lord Admiral could draw near the Town, the Earl of *Essex* had entred it; and although the Houses were built in that manner, as that every House served for a Platform; yet they were forc'd to quit them, and to retire into the Castle.

My Lord at last, in despite of the Enemy, gained the Market place, where he found greatest Resistance from the Houses thereabouts; and where it was that that Worthy Gentleman Sir *John Wingfield* was unluckily slain. The Lord General *Essex* caused it to be proclaimed by Beat of Drum through the Town, that all that would yield, should repair to the Town-House, where they should have promise of Mercy, and those that would not, to expect no Favor. The Castle desired Respite to consider untill the morning following; and then by one general Consent, they surrend'ed themselves to the two Lord Generals Mercies. The Chief Prisoners, Men and Women, were brought into the Castle, where they remained a little space, and were sent away with Honorable Usage. The noble treating of the Prisoners, hath gained an everlasting Honor to our Nation, and the General's in particular.

It cannot be supposed the Lord Generals had leisure to be idle the day following, having so great business to consider of, as the securing the Town, and enjoying the Merchants Ships: Wherefore, for the speedier dispatch, they had Speech with the best men of the City, about the Ransom to be given for their Town and Liberties, 120000 Duckets was the Summ concluded on; and for Security thereof, many of them became Hostages. There was likewise an Overture for the Ransom of their Ships and Goods, which the Duke of *Medina* hearing of, rather than we should reap any profit by them, he caused them to be fired.

We found by Experience, that the destroying of this Fleet (which did amount to the value of six or seven Millions) was the general impoverishing of the whole Country: For when the Pledges sent to *Sevil*, to take up money for their Redemption; they were answered, that all the Town was not able to raise such a Summ, their Loss was so great by the loss of their Fleet. And to speak truth, *Spain* never received so great an Overthrow, so great a Spoil, so great an Indignity at our Hands as this: For our Attempt was at his own Home, in his Port, that he thought as safe as his Chamber, where we took and destroy'd his Ships of War, burnt and consumed the Wealth of his Merchants, sack'd his City, ransomed his Subjects, and entred his Country without Impeachment.

To write all Accidents of this Voyage, wete too tedious, and would weary the Reader; but he that would desire to know the Behavior of the *Spaniards*, as well as of us, many confer with divers *English* men that were redeemed out the Gallies in exchange for others, and brought into *England*.

After

After we had enjoyed the Town of *Cadiz* a Fortnight, and our men were grown rich by the Spoil of it, the Generals imbarqued their Army, with an intent to perform greater Services before their Return; but such was the Covetousness of the better Sort, who were enriched there, and the fear of Hunger in others, who complained for want of Victuals, as they could not willingly be drawn to any farther Action, to gain more Reputation. The only thing that was afterwards attempted, was *Pharoah*, a Town of *Algarula* in *Portugal*, a place of no Resistance or Wealth, only famous by the Library of *Oforius*, who was Bishop of that place; which Library was brought into *England* by us, and many of the Books bestowed upon the new erected Library of *Oxford*.

Some Prisoners were taken; but of small account, who told us, that the greatest Strength of the Country was in *Lawgust*, the chief Town of *Argarula*, twelve miles distant from thence; because most part of the Gentlemen thereabouts were gone thither, to make it good expecting our coming. This News was acceptable to my Lord of *Effex*, who preferred Honor before Wealth: And having had his Will, and the Spoil of the Town of *Pharoah* and Country thereabouts: He Shipped his Army, and took Council of the Lord Admiral how to proceed. My Lord Admiral diverted his course for *Lawgust*, alleading the place was strong, of no Wealth, always held in the nature of a Fisher-Town, belonging to the *Portugals*, who in their Hearts were our Friends; that the winning of it, after so eminent a place as *Cadiz*, could add no Honor; though it should be carried, yet it would be the Loss of his best Troops and Gentlemen, who would rather to die, than receive Indignity of a Repulse. My Lord of *Effex*, much against his Will, was forc'd to yield unto these Reasons, and desist from that Enterprize.

About this time there was a general Complaint for want of Victuals; which proceeded rather out of a desire that some had to be at home, than out of any necessity: For Sir *William Monson* and Mr. *Darrel*, were appointed to examine the Condition of every Ship, and found seven weeks Victuals (Drink excepted) which might have been supplied from the Shore in Water; and this put the Generals in great hope to perform something more than they had done. The only Service that was now to be thought on, was to lie in wait for the Carrecks, which in all probability could not escape us, though there were many Doubts to the contrary; but easily answered by men of Experience: But in truth, some mens desires homeward, were so great, that no Reason could prevail with, or persuade them.

Coming into the height of the Rock, the Generals took Council once again, and then the Earl of *Effex*, and the Lord *Thomas Howard*, offered with great earnestness, to stay out the time our Victuals lasted; and desired to have but 12 Ships furnished out of the rest to stay with them; but this would not be granted, though the Squadron of the *Hollanders* offered voluntarily to stay. Sir *Walter Rawleigh* alleaded the scarcity of Victuals, and the Infection of his Men. My Lord General *Effex*, offered, in the Greatness of his Mind, and the Desire he had to stay, to supply his want of Men and Victuals, and to exchange Ships; but all Proposals were in vain: For the Riches kept them that got much, from attempting more; as if it had been otherwise pure want, though not Honor would have enforced them to greater Enterprises.

This being the last Hopes of the Voyage, and being generally withstood, it was concluded to steer away for the *North Cape*, and afterwards, to view and

and search the Harbors of the *Groyne* and *Ferrol*; and if any of the King of *Spain's* Ships chanced to be there, to give an Attempt upon them.

The Lord Admiral sent a Carvel of our Fleet into these two Harbors, and apparelled the men in *Spanish* Cloaths, to avoid Suspicion. This Carvel returned the next day, with a true Relation, that there were no Ships in the Harbors: And now passing all places where there was any hope of doing good, our Return for *England* was resolved upon; and the 8th. of *August*, the Lord Admiral arrived in *Plymouth*, with the greatest part of the Army: And the Lord General *Essex*, who staid to accompany the *St. Andrew*, which was under his Charge, and reputed of his Squadron, two days after us, the 10th. of *August*, where he found the Army in that perfect Health, as the like hath not been seen, for so many to go out of *England*, to such great Enterprises, and so well to return home again,

He himself rid up to the Court, to advise with her Majesty, about the winning of *Callis*, which the *Spaniards* took the *Easter* before: Here was a good opportunity, to have re-gained the Ancient Patrimony of *England*; but the *French* King, thought he might with more ease re-gain it from the *Spaniard*, who was his Enemy, than recover it again from us, who were his Friends.

My Lord Admiral, with the Fleet, went to the *Downs*, where he landed, and left the Charge of the Navy, to Sir Robert Dudley, and Sir William Monson. In going from thence to *Chatham*, they endured more foul Weather, and contrary Winds, than in the whole Voyage besides.

### *A Voyage to the Islands, the Earl of Essex General, Anno 1597.*

#### Ships.

*The Mere-honor*  
*After in the Repulse*  
*The Lyon*  
*The Warspite*  
*The Garland*  
*The Defiance*  
*The Mary Rose*  
*The Hope*  
*The Matthew*  
*The Rainbow*  
*The Bonaventure,*  
*The Dreadnought*  
*The Swiftsuer*  
*The Antelope*  
*The Nonperil*  
*The St. Andrew*

#### Commanders.

*The Earl of Essex.* Capt. under him  
*Sir Robert Mansell*  
*The Lord Thomas Howard*  
*Sir Walter Rawleigh*  
*The Earl of Southampton*  
*The Lord Mountioy*  
*Sir Francis Vere*  
*Sir Richard Lewson*  
*Sir George Carew*  
*Sir Will. Monson*  
*Sir Will. Harvey*  
*Sir Will. Brooke*  
*Sir Gilly Merick*  
*Sir John Gilbert, he went not.*  
*Sir Tho. Vavasor*  
*Capt. Throgmorton.*

HER Majesty having Knowledge of the King of *Spain's* drawing down his Fleet and Army to the *Groyne* and *Ferrol*, with an intent to enter into some Action against Her; and that, notwithstanding the loss of



thirty six Sail of his Ships that were cast away upon the *North Cape*, in their coming thither : He prepared with all possible means, to revenge the Disgraces we did him the year last past at *Cadiz*. Her Majesty likewise prepared to defend her self, and fitted out the most part of her Ships for the Sea ; but at length, perceiving his Drift was more to afright than offend her, though he gave it it out otherwise, because she should provide to resist him at home, rather than to annoy him abroad. She was unwilling the great Charges she had been at, should be bestowed in vain ; and therefore turned her Preparations another way, than that for which she first intended them.

The Project of this Voyage, was to assault the King of *Spain's* Shipping in the Harbor of *Ferrol*, which the Queen chiefly desired to do for her own Security at home ; and afterwards to go and take the Islands of *Terceira* ; and there to expect the coming home of the *Indian Fleet*. But neither of these two Designs took that effect which was expected : For in our setting forth, the same day we put to Sea, we were taken with a most violent Storm, and contrary Winds ; and the General was separated from the Fleet, and one Ship from another, so that the one half of the Fleet were compelled to return home, and the rest that kept the Sea, having reached the Coast of *Spain*, were commanded home, by order of the Lord General.

Thus after their return, they were to advise upon a new Voyage, finding by their Ships and Victuals, they were unable to perform the former : Whereupon it was thought convenient all the Army should be discharged, for the prolonging of the Victuals, except a thousand of the prime Souldiers of the Low Countries, which were put into her Majesties Ships, that they might be the better prepared, if they should chance to encounter the *Spanish Fleet*. Thus the second time they departed *England*, though not without some danger of the Ships, by reason of the Winter's near approach.

The first Land in *Spain* we fell withal, was the *North Cape*, the place whither our Directions led us, if we happened to lose Company ; being there descried from the Shore, and not above 12 Leagues from the *Groyn*, where the *Spanish Armado* lay. We were in good hopes to have enticed them out of the Harbor to fight us ; but spending some time thereabouts, and finding no such Disposition in them, it was thought fit no longer to linger about that Coast, lest we should lose our opportunity upon the *Indian Fleet* ; therefore every Captain received his Directions to stand his Course into 36 Degrees, there to spread our selves *North* and *South*, it being a heighth that commonly the *Spaniards* sail in from the *Indies*.

At this time the Lord General complained of a Leak in his Ship ; and two days after, towards midnight, he brought himself upon the Lee to stop it. Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, and some other Ships, being a head the Fleet, and it growing dark, they could not discern the Lord General's Working ; but stood their Course as before directed ; and through this unadvised working of my Lord, they lost him and his Fleet.

The day following, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* was informed by a Pinnace he met, that the great *Armado*, which we supposed to be in the *Groyn* and *Ferrol*, was gone to the Islands, for the Guard of the *Indian Fleet*. This Pinnace, with this Intelligence it gave us, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* immediately sent to look out the General. My Lord had no sooner received this Advice, but at the very instant he directed his Course to the Islands, and dispatched some small Vessels to Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, to inform him of the sudden Alteration of his Course, upon the News received from him, commanding

ding him with all Expedition, to repair to *Flores*, where he would not fail to be at our Arrival. At the Islands we found this Intelligence utterly false: For neither the *Spanish* Ships were there, nor were expected there: We met likewise with divers *English* men, that came out of the *Indies*; but they could give us no assurance of the coming home of the Fleet; neither could we receive any Advertisement from the Shore, which made us half in despair of them.

By that time we had watered our Ships, and refreshed our selves at *Flores*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* arrived there, who was willed by the Lord General, after he was furnished of such Wants as that poor Island afforded, to make his repair to the Island of *Fayal*, which my Lord intended to take. Here grew great Questions and Heart-burnings against Sir *Walter Rawleigh*: For he coming to *Fayal*, and missing the Lord General, and yet knowing my Lord's Resolution to take the Island, he held it more advisable to land with those Forces he had, than to expect the coming of my Lord: For in that space the Island might be better provided: whereupon he landed, and took it before my Lord's approach. This Act was held such an Indignity to my Lord, and urged with that Vehemence, by those that hated Sir *Walter*, that if my Lord, though naturally kind, and flexible, had not feared how it would have been taken in *England*, I think Sir *Walter* had smarted for it.

From this Island we went to *Graciosa*, which did willingly relieve our Wants, as far as it could; yet with humble intreaty to forbear landing with our Army, especially, because they understood there was a Squadron of *Hollanders* amongst us, who did not use to forbear Cruelty wherever they came; and here it was that we met the *Indian* Fleet, which in manner following, unluckily escaped us.

The Lord General having sent some men of good Account into the Island, to see there should be no Injury offered to the *Portugals*, he having passed his word to the contrary; those men advertised him of four Sail of Ships descried from the Shore, and one of them greater than the rest, seemed to be a Carreck: My Lord received this News with great Joy, and divided his Fleet into three Squadrons, to be commanded by himself, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and Sir *Walter Rawleigh*. The next Ship to my Lord, of the Queen's, was the *Rainbow*, wherein Sir *William Monson* went, who received direction from my Lord to steer away South that Night; and if he should meet with any Fleet, to follow them, carrying Lights, or shooting off his Ordnances or making any other Sign that he could; and if he met with no Ships, to direct his Course the next day, to the Island of *St. Michael*; but promising that Night to send 12 Ships after him. Sir *William* befought my Lord, by the Pinnace that brought him this Direction, that above all things he should have a care to dispatch a Squadron to the Road of *Angra* in the *Tercera's*: For it was certain, if they were *Spaniards*, thither they would resort.

Whilst my Lord was thus contriving his Business, and ordering his Squadrons, a small Barque of his Fleet happened to come to him, who assured him, that those Ships discovered from the Land, were of his own Fleet; and that they came in immediately from them. This made my Lord countermand his former Direction; only Sir *William Monson*, who was the next Ship to him, and received the first Command, could not be recalled back. Within three hours of his Departure from my Lord, which might be about 12 of the Clock, he fell in company of a Fleet of 25 Sail, which at the first he could not assure himself to be *Spaniards*; because the day before, that  
number

number of Ships was missing from our Fleet. Here he was in a *Dilemma* and great perplexity with himself; for in making Signs, as he was directed, if the Ships proved *English*, it were ridiculous, and he would be exposed to scorn; and to respite it untill morning, were as dangerous, if they were the *Indian* Fleet: For then my Lord might be out of View, or of the hearing of his Ordnance: Therefore he resolved rather to put his Person, than his Ship in Peril. He commanded his Master to keep the Weather-Gage of the Fleet, whatsoever should become of him; and it blowing little Wind, he betook himself to his Boat, and rowed up with the Fleet, demanding of whence they were: They answered, of *Sevil* in *Spain*; and asked of whence he was? He told them of *England*; and that the Ship in sight was a Gallion of the Queen's of *England*, single and alone, alleading the Honor they would get by winning her; his Drift being to draw and entice them into the Wake of our Fleet, where they would be so entangled, as they could not escape; they returned him some Shot, and ill Language; but would not alter their Course to the *Tercera's*, whither they were bound, and where they arrived to our misfortune. Sir *William Monson* returned aboard his Ship, making Signs with Lights, and Report with his Ordnance; but all in vain: For my Lord altering his Course, as you have heard, stood that Night to *St. Michaels*, and passed by the North side of *Tercera*, a farther way, than if he had gone by the way of *Augra*, where he had met the *Indian* Fleet.

When day appeared, and Sir *William Monson* was in hope to find the 12 Ships promised to be sent to him, he might discern the *Spanish* Fleet two miles and a little more a Head him, and a Stern him a Gallion, and a Pinnace betwixt them; which putting forth her Flaggs, he knew to be the Earl of *Southampton* in the *Garland*: The Pinnace was a Frigate of the *Spanish* Fleet, who took the *Garland* and the *Rainbow* to be Gallions of theirs; but seeing the Flag of the *Garland*, she found her Error, and sprang a loof, thinking to escape; but the Earl pursued her with the loss of some Time, when he should have followed the Fleet; and therefore was desired to desist from that Chase by Sir *William Monson*, who sent his Boat to him. By a Shot from my Lord, this Frigate was sunk; and while his Men were rifling her, Sir *Francis Vere* and Sir *William Brook* came up in their two Ships, who the *Spaniards* would have made us believe were two Gallions of theirs; and so much did my Lord signifie to Sir *William Monson*, wishing him to stay their coming up: for that there would be greater hope of those two Ships, which there was no doubt but we were able to Master, than of the Fleet, for which we were too weak.

But after Sir *William* had made the two Ships to be the Queen's, which he ever suspected them to be, he began to pursue the *Spanish* Fleet afresh; but by reason they were so far a Head of him, and had so little way to fall, they recovered the Road of *Tercera*; but he and the rest of the Ships pursued them, and himself led the way into the Harbor, where he found sharp Resistance from the Castle; but yet so battered the Ships, that he might see the Masts of some shot by the Board, and the men quit the Ships; so that there wanted nothing but a Gale of Wind to enable him to cut the Cables of the Hawfers, and to bring them off: Wherefore he sent to the other 3 great Ships of ours, to desire them to attempt the cutting their Cables; but Sir *Fra. Vere* rather wished his coming off, that they might take a Resolution what to do. This must be rather imputed to want of Experience than Backwardness in him: For Sir *William* sent him word, that if he quitted the Harbor, the Ships would tow near the Castle; and as the Night drew on, the Wind would



would freshen, and come more off the Land, which indeed proved so, and we above a League from the Road in the morning.

We may say, and that truly, there was never that possibility to have undone the State of *Spain* as now: For every Royal of Plate we had taken in this Fleet, had been two to them, by our converting it by War upon them.

None of the Captains could be blamed in this Business: All is to be attributed to the want of Experience in my Lord, and his flexible Nature to be over-ruled: For the first hour he anchored at *Flores*, and called a Council, Sir *William Monson* advised him upon the reasons following, after his Watering, to run *West*, spreading his Fleet *North* and *South*, so far as the *Eastern* Wind that then blew would carry them; alleading, that if the *Indian* Fleet came home that Year, by computation of the last light Moon, from which time their disimboгуing in the *Indies*, must be reckoned, they could not be above 200 Leagues short of that Island; and whensoever the Wind should chop up *Westernly*, he bearing a slack Sail, they would, in a few days overtake him.

This Advice my Lord seemed to take, but was diverted by divers Gentlemen, who coming principally for Land Service, found themselves tired by the tediousness of the Sea. Certain it is, if my Lord had followed his Advice, within less than 40 hours, he had made the Queen owner of that Fleet: For by the Pilot's Card, which was taken in the Frigate, the *Spanish* Fleet was but 50 Leagues in traverse with that *Eastern* Wind, when my Lord was at *Flores*, which made my Lord wish, the first time Sir *William Monson* repaired to him, after the Escape of the Fleet, that he had lost his Hand so he had been ruled by him.

Being met Aboard Sir *Francis Vere*, we consulted what to do, and resolved to acquaint my Lord with what had happened, desiring his Presence with us, to see if there were any possibility to attempt the Shipping, or surprize the Island, and so to possess the Treasure.

My Lord received this Advertisement, just as he was ready with his Troops to have landed in *St. Michaels*; but this Message diverted his Landing, and made him presently cast about for the Islands of the *Tercera's*, where we lay all this while expecting his coming. In his Course from *St. Michaels*, it was his hap to take three Ships that departed the *Havana* the day after the Fleet: Which three Ships did more than countervail the whole Voyage.

At my Lord's meeting with us at *Tercera*, there was a Consultation how the Enemies Ships might be fetched off, or destroyed as they lay; but all men with one consent, agreed the impossibility of it. The attempting the Island was propounded; but withstood for these reasons, the difficulty in Landing, the strength of the Island, which was increased by fourteen or fifteen Hundred Souldiers in the Ships, and our want of Victuals to abide by the Siege. Seeing then we were frustrate of our Hopes at the *Tercera*, we resolved upon landing in *St. Michaels*, and arrived the day following at *Punta Delgada*, the Chief City. Here my Lord imbarqued his small Army in Boats, with offer to Land; and having thereby drawn the Enemies greatest Force thither to resist him, suddainly he rowed to *Villa Franca*, three or four Leagues distant from thence; which, not being defended by the Enemy, he took. The Ships had order to abide in the Road of *Delgada*; for that my Lord made account to march thither by Land; but being on Shore at *Villa Franca*, he was informed that the March was impossible, by reason of the high and craggy Mountains, which diverted his purpose.

Victuals now grew short with us, and my Lord General began discreetly to foresee the danger in abiding towards Winter upon these Coasts, which could not afford him an Harbor, only open Roads that were subject to *Southern* Winds; and upon every such Wind, he must put to Sea for his safety. He considered, that if this should happen, when his Troops were on Shore, and he not able to reach the Land in a Fortnight or more, which is a thing ordinary, what a desperate case he should put himself into, especially in so great a want of Victuals: And so concluding, that he had seen the end of all his Hopes, by the Escape of the Fleet, he imbarqued himself and Army, though with some difficulty, the Seas were now grown so high.

By this time the one half of the Fleet that rid in *Punta Delgada*, put room for *Villa Franca*, and those that remained behind, being thought by a Ship of *Brazile* to be the *Spanish* Fleet, she came in amongst them, and so was betrayed: After her there followed a Carreck, who had been served in the like manner; but for the hasty and indiscreet weighing of a *Hollander*, which made her run a Shore under the Castle; when the Wind lessened Sir *William Monson* weighed with the *Rainbow*, thinking to give an Attempt upon her, notwithstanding the Castle; which she perceiving, as he drew near unto her, she set her self on fire, and burned down to the very Keel. She, was a Ship of 1400 Tuns Burden, that the year before was not able to double the Cape of *bona Esperansa*, in her Voyage to the *East Indies*; but put into *Brazile*, where she was laden with Sugars, and afterwards thus destroyed. The *Spaniards*, who presumed more upon their Advantages than Valors, thought themselves in too weak a Condition to follow us to the Islands, and put their Fortunes upon a days Service, but subtilly devised how to intercept us as we came Home, when we had least Thought or Suspicion of them; and their Fleet, that was all this while in the *Groyne* and *Ferrol*, not daring to put forwards while they knew ours to be upon the Coast, their General the *Adelantada* came for *England*, with a Resolution to land at *Falmouth*, and fortifie it, and afterwards, with their Ships, to keep the Sea, and expect our coming home scattered.

Having thus cut off our Sea Forces, and possessing the Harbor of *Falmouth*, they thought with a second supply of 37 *Levantisco's* Ships, which the Marquess *Arumbullo* commanded, to have returned and gained a good footing in *England*.

These Designs of theirs were not foreseen by us: For we came Home scattered, as they made reckoning, not 20 in number together.

We may say, and that truly, that God fought for us: For the *Adalantada* being within a few Leagues of the Island of *Silly*, he commanded all his Captains on Board him to receive his Directions; but whilst they were in Consultation, a violent Storm took them at *East*, insomuch that the Captains could hardly recover their Ships, but in no case were able to save their Boats, the Storm continued so furious, and happy was he that could recover home, seeing their Design thus overthrown by loss of their Boats, whereby their means of Landing was taken away. Some who were willing to stay, and receive the farther Commands of the General, kept the Seas so long upon our Coast, that in the end they were taken; others put themselves into our Harbors for Refuge and Succor; and it is certainly known, that in this Voyage the *Spaniards* lost eighteen Ships, the *St. Luke*, and the *St. Bartholomew*, being two and in the rank of his best Gallions.

We must ascribe this Success to God only : For certainly the Enemies Designs were dangerous, and not to be diverted by our Force ; but by his Will, who would not suffer the *Spaniards* in any of their Attempts, to set footing in *England*, as we have done in all the Quarters of *Spain*, *Portugal*, the Islands, and both the *Indies*.

*The Lord Thomas Howard Admiral to the Downs,  
from whence he returned in one Month, Anno 1599*

## Ships.

*The Elizabeth Jonas*  
*The Ark Royal*  
*The Triumph*  
*The Mere-honor*  
*The Repulse*  
*The Garland*  
*The Desiance*  
*The Nonperil*  
*The Lyon*  
*The Rainbow*  
*The Hope*  
*The Foresight*  
*The Mary Rose*  
*The Bonaventure,*  
*The Crane*  
*The Swiftsuer*  
*The Tremontary*  
*The Advantage*  
*The Quittance*

## Commanders.

*The Lord Thomas Howard*  
*Sir Walter Rawleigh*  
*Sir Fulke Grivel*  
*Sir Henry Palmer*  
*Sir Tho. Vavasor*  
*Sir Will. Harvey*  
*Sir Will. Monson*  
*Sir Robert Cross*  
*Sir Richard Lewson*  
*Sir Alexander Clifford*  
*Sir John Gilbert*  
*Sir Tho. Sherley*  
*Mr. Fortescue*  
*Capt. Troughton.*  
*Capt. Jonas*  
*Capt. Bradgate*  
*Capt. Slingsby*  
*Capt. Hoer*  
*Capt. Reynolds*

I Cannot write of any thing done in this Year of 1599. For there was never greater Expectation of War, with less Performance. Whether it was a Mistrust the one Nation had of the other, or a Policy held on both sides, to make Peace with Sword in Hand, a Treaty being entertained by consent of each Prince, I am not to examine ; but sure I am, the Preparation was on both sides very great, as if the one expected an Invasion from the other ; and yet it was generally conceived, not to be intended by either ; but that ours had only relation to my Lord of *Essex*, who was then in *Ireland*, and had a Design to try his Friends in *England*, and to be revenged of his Enemies, as he pretended, and as it proved afterwards by his Fall : Howsoever it was, the Charge was not so great as necessary : For it was commonly known, that the *Adalantada* had drawn both his Ships and Gallies to the *Groyne* ; which was not usually done, but for some Action intended upon *England* or *Ireland*, though he converted them after to another use, as you shall hear.

The Gallies were sent into the Low Countreys, and pass'd the Narrow Seas, while our Ships lay there, and with the Fleet the *Atalantada* pursued the *Hollanders* to the Islands, whither he suspected they were gone. This Fleet



Fleet of *Hollanders*, which consisted of 73 Sail, were the first Ships that ever displayed their Colors in War-like sort against the *Spaniards*, in any Action of their own: For how cruel soever the War seemed to be in *Holland*, they maintained a peaceable Trade in *Spain*, and abused us. This first Action of the *Hollanders* at Sea proved not very successful: For after the Spoil of a Town in the *Canary's*, and some Hurt done at the Island of *St. Ome*, they kept the Sea for some seven or eight months, in which time their General and most of their Men sickned and died, and the rest returned with Loss and Shame. Another Benefit which we received by this Preparation, was, that our Men were now taught suddainly to Arme, every man knowing his Command, and how to be commanded, which before they were ignorant of: and who knows not, that sudden and false Alarms in an Army, are sometimes necessary? To say truth, the Expedition which was then used in drawing together so great an Army by Land, and rigging so great and Royal a Navy to Sea in so little a space of Time, was so admirable in other Countreys, that they received a Terror by it; and many that came from beyond Sea, said, the Queen was never more dreaded abroad for any thing she ever did.

*French-men* that came Aboard our Ships, did wonder (as at a thing incredible) that her Majesty had rigged, victualled and furnished her Royal Ships to Sea in 12 days time: And *Spain*, as an Enemy, had reason to fear, and grieve to see this suddain Preparation; but more, when they understood how the Hearts of Her Majesty's Subjects joyned with their Hands, being all ready to spend their dearest Blood for her and her Service. *Holland* might likewise see, that if they became insolent, we could be as soon provided as they; nor did they expect to find such celerity in any Nation but themselves.

It is probable too, that the King of *Spain*, and the Arch-Duke, were hereby drawn to entertain Thoughts of Peace: For as soon as our Fleet was at Sea, a Gentleman was sent from *Brussels*, with some Overtures, although for that time they succeeded not. However, whether it was, that the intended Invasion from *Spain* was diverted, or that her Majesty was fully satisfied of my Lord of *Essex*, I know not; but so it was, that she commanded the suddain Return of her Ships from Sea, after they had layn three weeks or a month in the *Downs*.

*Sir Richard Lewson to the Islands, Anno  
Dom. 1600.*

Ships.	Commanders.
<i>The Repulse</i> <i>The Warpight</i> <i>The Vauntguard</i>	<i>Sir Richard Lewson</i> <i>Capt. Troughton</i> <i>Capt. Sommers.</i>

THE last Year, as you have heard, put all men in expectation of War, which yet came to nothing. This Summer gave us great hope of Peace; but with the like effect: For by consent of the Queen, the King of *Spain*, and the Arch-Duke, their Commissioners met at *Bulloign* in *Piccardie*, to treat of Peace; a place chosen indifferently, the *French King* being

ing in League and Friendship with them all. Whether this Treaty were intended but in shew only, or, that they were out of hopes, to come to any conclusion; or, what else was the true and real cause of its breaking off so suddenly, I know not; but the pretence was but slender, for there grew a difference about Precedency, betwixt the two Crowns, though it was ever due to *England*; and so the hopes of Peace were frustrated, though had it been really intended, matters might easily have been accommodated.

The Queen suspecting the Event hereof, before their meeting, and the rather, because the *Spaniards* entertained her with the like Treaty, in 1588 when at the same instant, his Navy appeared upon her Coast to Invade her; therefore, lest she should be guilty of too great security, in relying upon the success of this doubtful Treaty, she furnished the Three Ships before named, under pretence to guard the Western Coast, which at that time was infested by the *Dunkirkers*.

And because there should be the less notice taken, part of the Victuals was provided at *Plymouth*; and Sir *Richard Lewson*, who was then Admiral of the Narrow Seas, was appointed General, for the more secret carriage of the business; so as it could not be conjectured, either by their Victualling, or by their Captain, being Admiral of the Narrow Seas, that it was a Service from home. As they were in a readiness at *Plymouth*, expecting Orders, the Queen being fully satisfied, that the Treaty of *Bulloign* would break off without effect, she commanded Sir *Richard Lewson* to hasten to the Islands, there to expect the Carrecks, and *Mexico* Fleet. The *Spaniards* on the other side, being as circumspect to prevent a mischief, as we were subtil to contrive it; and believing (as we did) that the Treaty of Peace would prove a vain, hopeless shew of what was never meant, they furnished Eighteen tall Ships to the Islands, as they had usually done, since the Year 1591. The General of this Fleet was *Don Diego de Borachero*.

Our Ships coming to the Islands, they and the *Spaniards* had intelligence of one another, but not the sight, for that Sir *Richard Lewson* hailed Sixty Leagues Westward, not only to avoid them, but in hopes to meet with the Carrecks, and *Mexico* Fleet, before they could join them: But the Carrecks being formerly warned by the taking of one of them, and burning of another, in 1591. had ever since that year, endeavored to shun the sight of that Island; so that our Fleet being now prevented, as they had often before been, (nothing being more uncertain, than Actions at Sea, where Ships are to meet one another casually) they returned home, having consumed time and Victuals, to no purpose, and seen not so much as one Sail, from the time they quitted the Coast of *England*, till their return, two Ships of *Holland* excepted, that came from the *East Indies* (for then began their Trade thither) which Ships Sir *Richard Lewson* relieved, finding them in great distress and want.

## Sir Richard Lewson into Ireland, Anno 1601.

Ships.	Commanders.
<i>The Warsight</i>	<i>Sir Richard Lewson</i>
<i>The Garland</i>	<i>Sir Amias Preston</i>
<i>The Defiance</i>	<i>Capt. Goer</i>
<i>The Swiftsuer</i>	<i>Capt. Sommers</i>
<i>The Crane</i>	<i>Capt. Mainwaring</i>

IN the Year 1600. and part of the Year 1601. there was a kind of cessation from Arms, though not by agreement, for this Year gave a hope of Peace; which failing, the former course of annoying each other was revived; we in relieving the *Low Countries*, the *Spaniards* in assisting the Rebels in *Ireland*. This was the Summer, that the Arch-Duke besieged *Ostend*, which was bravely defended, but principally, by the Supplies out of *England*. And towards Winter, when the *Spaniards* thought we least looked for War, *Don Diego de Borachero*, with 48 Sail of Ships, and 4000 Soldiers was sent to Invade *Ireland*.

In his way thither he lost the company of his Vice-Admiral, *Siriago*, who returned to the *Groyn*, which when the King heard, he was much distasted with *Siriago*, and commanded him upon his Allegiance, to hasten with all speed for *Ireland*, as he was formerly directed; *Don Diego*, his Landing being known in *England*, when it was too late to prevent it; yet, least he should be supplied with further Forces, *Sir Richard Lewson* valiantly entered the Harbor, drew near their Fortifications, and fought the Enemy for the space of one whole day, his Ship being an Hundred times shot through, and yet but Eight men slain. God so blest him, that he prevailed in his Enterprize, destroyed their whole Shipping, and made *Siriago* fly by Land into another Harbor, where he obscurely Imbarqued himself in a *French Vessel*, for *Spain*. All this while was the main Army, which Landed with their General, *Don Juan de Aquila*, seated in *Kinsale*, expecting the aid of *Tyroen*, who promised every day to be with him. Our Army commanded by the Lord *Montjoy*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, besieged the Town, so that he prevented their meeting, and many skirmishes past betwixt them.

The Siege continued, with great miseries to both the Armies, and not without cause, considering the Season of the Year, and the condition of the Country, that afforded little relief to either: some few days before Christmas, *Tyroen* appeared with his Forces, which was some little heartning to the Enemy, in hopes to be freed of their Imprisonment, for so may I call it, they were so strictly beleagured. The day of agreement, betwixt the *Spaniards* and *Tyroen*, was Christmas Eve, on which day, there happened an Earthquake in *England*; and, as many times such Signs prove *aut bonum, aut malum Omen*; this proved Fortunate to us, the Victory being obtained, with so little loss, as it is almost incredible.

This was the day of Tryal, whether *Ireland* should continue a parcel of our Crown, or no; for if the Enemy had prevailed in the Battel, and a Treaty had not afterwards obtained more then Force, it was to be feared, *Ireland* would hardly have been ever recovered. The *Spaniards* in *Ireland*,  
seeing



seeing the success of *Tyroen*, and the impossibility for him to re-inforce his Army, being hopeless of supplies out of *Spain*, and their Poverty daily increasing, they made offers of a Parly, which was granted, and after ensued a Peace there: The Conditions whereof are extant in Print. They were furnished with Ships, and secured of their Passage into *Spain*, where arriving in *English* Vessels, the Ships returned back for *England*.

*Sir Richard Lewson, and Sir William Monson, to  
the Coast of Spain, Anno 1602.*

Ships.	Commanders.
<i>The Repulse</i>	<i>Sir Richard Lewson, Admiral</i>
<i>The Garland</i>	<i>Sir Will. Monson, Vice-Admiral.</i>
<i>The Defiance</i>	<i>Capt. Goer</i>
<i>The Mary Rose</i>	<i>Capt. Slingsby</i>
<i>The Warspight</i>	<i>Capt. Sommers</i>
<i>The Nonperil</i>	<i>Capt. Reynolds</i>
<i>The Dreadnought</i>	<i>Capt. Mainwaring</i>
<i>The Adventure</i>	<i>Capt. Trevor</i>
<i>The English Carvel</i>	<i>Capt. Sawkel</i>

THE last Attempt of the *Spaniards* in *Ireland* awakened the Queen, who, it seemeth for two or three Years together, entertained the Hopes of Peace, and therefore was sparing in setting forth her Fleets. But now perceiving the Enemy had found the way into *Ireland*; and that it behoved her to be more vigilant than ever; she resolved, as the safest course to infect the *Spanish* Coasts with a continual Fleet; and in this year furnished the Ships aforesaid, having Promise from the States of *Holland*, to joynt to them twelve Sail of theirs; and because this important Service required great speed, she had not time enough to man them, or supply them with Provisions altogether so well as they were usually wont to be; but was content with what could be gotten in so short a warning, so desirous was she to see her Ships at Sea.

*Sir Richard Lewson* set sail with five of them the 19th. of *March*, and left *Sir William Monson* behind with the other four, to attend the coming of the *Hollanders*: though within two or three days after, *Sir William* received Command from the Queen, to hasten with all speed to *Sir Richard Lewson*; for that she was advertised, that the Silver Ships were arrived at the *Tercera's*. *Sir William Monson* hereupon neglected no time, nor stayed either to see himself better Manned, or his Ships better furnished; but put to Sea the 26th. of *March*.

This Intelligence of the Queen's was true: For the Plate Fleet had been at the *Tercera's*, and departing from thence, in their Course for *Spain*, *Sir Richard Lewson*, with his few Ships, met them; but to little purpose, wanting the rest of his Fleet, and the help of the 12 *Hollanders*. We may very well account this not the least Error or Negligence that hath been committed in our Voyages: For if the *Hollanders* had kept touch according to Promise, and the Queen's Ships had been fitted out with Care, we had made her Majesty Mistress of more Treasure than any of her Progenitors ever enjoyed.

Sir

Sir Richard Lewson's Design against the *Indian Fleet*, notwithstanding his Renowned Valor, being thus frustrated, and by the *Hollanders* slackness crossed, he plied towards the Rock, to meet Sir William Monson, as the place resolved on between them; but Sir William having spent 14 days thereabouts, and hearing no Tidings of him, went round to the *Southward Cape*, where he was likewise frustrated of a most promising Hope: For meeting with certain *French-men* and *Scots*, at the same instant, he descried three Ships of ours, sent by Sir Richard to look him. These *French* and *Scottish* Ships came from *St. Lucas*, and made report of five Gallions, ready the next Tide to set sail for the *Indies*: They likewise told him of two others that departed three days before, wherein went *Don Petro de Valdes*, to be Governor of the *Havana*, who had sometimes been Prisoner in *England*.

These two later Ships were met one Night by the *Warspight*, whereof Capt. *Sommers* was Commander; but whether it was by the Darknes of the Night, or by what other Casualty (for the Sea is subject to many) I know not, but they escaped.

This News of the five Gallions, and the three Ships of the Queen's so happily meeting together, made Sir William direct his Course into the height wherein the *Spaniards* were most likely to sail in; and coming into that height, he had sight of five Ships, which in respect of their Number and Course, he made reckoning to be the five Gallions; and thought that day should fully determine and try the difference between the Strength and Puissance of the *English* and *Spanish* Ships, their number and greatness being equal: But his Joy was soon quailed: For coming up with them, he found them to be *English* Ships coming out of the *Streights*, and bound home; but yet this did not discourage the Hope he had conceived that the *Spaniards* might be met withall; and the next day he gave Chase to one Ship alone that came out of the *Indies*, which he took, though he had been better without her: For she brought him so far to Leeward, that that Night the Gallions passed to Wind-ward, not above eight or ten Leagues off us, by report of an *English* Pinnace that met them, who came into our Company the day following. These Misfortunes lighting first upon Sir Richard, and after upon Sir William, might have been sufficient Reasons to discourage them; but they knowing the Accidents of the Sea, and that Fortune could as well laugh as weep, having good Ships under foot, their Men sound and in health, and plenty of Victuals, they did not doubt but that some of the Wealth which the *Indies* sent forth into *Spain* would fall to their Shares.

Upon *Tuesday*, the first of *June*, to begin our new Fortune with a new Month, Sir Richard Lewson and Sir William Monson, who some few Nights before had met accidentally in the Sea, were close on board the Rock, where they took two Ships of the *East* Country, bound for *Lisbon*; and while they were romaging these Ships, they descried a Carvel from *Cape Picher* bearing with them; which by Signs she made, they perceived had a desire to speak with them. Sir Richard immediately chased her, and left Sir William with the two *Easterlings* to abide about the Rock till his return. The Carvel being fetcht up, made a relation of a Carreck and 11 Gallies to be in *Cisembre* Road; and that she was sent by two Ships of ours, the *Nonperil* and the *Dreadnought* which lay thereabouts to look out the Admiral. With what Joy this News was apprehended may be easily imagined: Sir Richard made Signs to Sir William to stand with him; and lest he should not be discerned, he caused the Carvel to ply up with him, wishing him

to

to repair to him; but before they could approach the *Cape*, it was midnight, and nothing chanced all that time, but the exchanging of some Shot, that passed betwixt the Admiral and the Gallies.

Upon *Wednesday*, the second of *June*, every man looked early in the morning what Ships of her Majesties were in sight, which were five in number, the *Warspight*, wherein Sir *Richard* was: For the *Repulse* he had sent for *England* some few days before, by reason of a Leak; the *Garland*, the *Nonpareil*, the *Dreadnought*, and the *Adventure*, besides the two *Easterlings* taken the day before. All the Captains resorted on Board the Admiral, to counsel, which took up most part of the day. At first there was an Opposition by some, who alleadged the Danger and Impossibility of taking the Carreck, being defended by the Castle and 11 Gallies: But Sir *William Monson* prevailed so far, as that all consented to go upon her the next day, and concluded upon this Course following, that he and Sir *Richard* should anchor as near the Carreck as they could, the rest to ply up and down, and not anchor. Sir *William* was glad of this occasion, to be revenged of the Gallies, hoping to requite the Slavery they put him to when he was Prisoner in them; and singled himself from the Fleet a League, that the Gallies might see it was in defiance of them; and so the Marquess of *St. Cruz*, and *Frederick Spaniola*, the one General of the *Portugal*, the other of the *Spanish* Gallies, apprehended it, and came forth with an intent to fight him; but being within Shot, were diverted by one *John Bedford* an *English-man*, who undertook to know the Force of the Ship, and Sir *William* that commended her. Before I go farther, I will a little digress, and acquaint you with the Scituation of the Town, and the manner of placing the Gallies against us. The Town of *Cisembre* lieth in the bottom of a Road, which is a good Succor for Ships with a *Northerly* Wind. It is built with *Free-stone*, and near the Sea is erected a strong and spacious Fort, well replenished with Ordnance: Above the Town, upon the top of a Hill, is seated an ancient, strong Fryery, whose Scituation maketh it impregnable, and able to command the Town, Castle and Road; close to the Shore lay the Carreck, like a Bullwork to the *West* side of the Castle; so as it defended both that, and the *East* part of the Town: The 11 Gallies had flanked and fortified themselves with the small Neck of a Rock on the *West* side of the Road, with their Prows right forward, to play upon us, every one carrying a Cannon in their *Cruzia*, besides other Pieces in their Prows; and they were no way to be damaged by us, till our Ships came so nigh the Town, that all these Forces might play upon us in one instant.

The Gallies being placed to this great Advantage, they made account (as a Captain of one of them we took confess'd) to have sunk our Ships of themselves, without any farther Help. We saw the Tents pitched, and great Troops of Souldiers drawn together; which was no less than the whole Country in Arms against us: The Boats pass'd betwixt the Shore and the Carreck all the day long, which we supposed was to unlade her; but we found afterwards it was rather to strengthen her with Men and Munition: Here appeared many Difficulties and Dangers, and little hope of taking her; but rather of sinking or burning her, as most men conjectured. The Danger from the Gallies was great, they being flanked with the point of a Rock at our Entrance, as you have heard, it being likewise calm, and they shooting low: Another Danger was, that of the Wind: For if it had come from the Sea, the Road being open, and the Bay deep, our Attempt must have been in vain. And notwithstanding these, and many more apparently seen; and that there was no man but imagined, that most of the Car-



recks Lading was on shoar, and that they would hale her on ground, under the Castle, where no Ship of ours should be able to fleet to her; all which objections, with many more, were alleadged, yet they little prevailed, procrastination was perilous, and therefore with all expedition, they thought convenient to charge the Town, the Fort, the Gallies, and Carreck, all at one instant. And they had determined, if the Carreck had been on ground, or so nigh the shoar, that the Queens Ships could not fleet to her, that the Two Easterlings, the day before taken, should Board her, and Burn her.

*Thursday* the Third day, early in the morning, every man commending himself to God's Tuition and Protection, expected when to begin, according to the agreement the day before. A gale of Wind happening about Ten of the Clock, the Admiral weighed; shot off a Warning-piece, and put forth his Flag in the Maintop: the Vice-Admiral did the like in his Foretop, according to the Custome of the Sea; every Captain encouraged his men, which so imboldened them, as though they were grown weak and feeble before, they were now revived, and bestirred themselves, as if a new Spirit had been infused into them; the Admiral was the first that gave the charge, after him followed the rest of the Ships, shewing great Valor, and gaining great Honor; the last of all, was the Vice-Admiral, at whose entrance into the Fight, he still strived to get up as near the shoar as he could, where he came to an Anchor, continually fighting with the Town, the Fort, the Gallies, and Carreck, all together, for he brought them betwixt him, that he might play both his Broad Sides upon them; there might be seen the Prowess of the Gallies, swim by the sides of them, the Slaves forsake them, and every thing in confusion amongst them, and thus they Fought, till Five of the Clock in the Afternoon.

The Vice-Admiral was Anchored to such an advantage, as the Gallies rowed from one side to another, seeking to shun him, which Sir *Richard Lewson* observing, came on Board him, and openly, in the view and hearing of his whole Company, imbraced him, and told him, *He had won his heart for ever.*

The rest of the Ships, as they were directed, plied up, except the Admiral, who by the negligence of his Master, or some other impediment, when he should have Anchored, fell so far to Leeward, as the Wind and Tide carried him out of the Road, so that it was the next day, before his Ship could be fetcht in again; whereat the Admiral was much intraged, and put himself into the *Dreadnought*, and brought her to an Anchor close to the Vice-Admiral, about Two of the Clock in the Afternoon: There was no opportunity let pass, for where the Admiral saw defect in any other Ship, he presently caused it to be supplied, and the Easterlings, who were appointed to Board the Carreck, beginning to faint, and fail of observing the directions given them, the Vice-Admiral perceiving it, went on Board them himself, vowing, that if they seemed backward in putting in Execution the design of firing the Carreck, they should look for as little Life from the *English*, as they could expect from the Enemy. Whilst the Vice-Admiral was thus ordering things, Sir *Richard Lewson* came to him, and would in no case suffer him to Board the Carreck himself, but carried him into the *Dreadnought*, where they consulted how to preserve the Carreck, and enjoy her.

The result of this Reference was, to offer her parley, which they presently put in practice, and commanded all the Ships to leave shooting, until the return of the Messenger: The man imployed, was one Captain *Sewell*, who had

had escaped. and swam to us, having been Four Years Prisoner in the Gallies, and so did many *Turks* and Christians; the effect of this Parley, was to persuade them to yield, promising honorable Conditions, and he was to intimate, as from himself, that the Gallies, whose strength they presumed upon, were beaten, some burnt, the rest fled; that we had the possession of the Road, the Castle not being able to abide our Ordinance, much less the Carreck, and if they refused this offer of Mercy, they were to expect all the Cruelty and Rigor, that a Conqueror could impose upon his Enemy: After some Conference to this effect, the Captain of the Carreck told him, He would send some Gentlemen of Quality, with Commission to Treat, and desired, that some of the like Quality from us, might repair to him, to the same purpose.

These Gentlemen came aboard the *Dreadnought*, where the Admiral and Vice-Admiral were, attending the return and success of Captain *Sewell*; after the delivery of their Message, they would needs hasten on Board the Carreck again, for that, as it seemed, there was an uproar and a division in her, some being of opinion to entertain a Parley, others to save themselves, and set her on fire: which Sir *William Monson* hearing, without further delay, or conference, with Sir *Richard*, what was to be done, he leaped suddenly into his Boat, and rowed unto the Carreck; when he drew near to her, he was known by diverse Gentlemen on Board her, he having once been a Prisoner among them: they seemed to be very glad of this meeting, and their passed diverse Imbracements between them, in remembrance of their old acquaintance: The Captain was called *Don Diego de Lobo*, a Gallant young Gentleman, of a Noble House. He descended down upon the bend of the Ship, and commanded his men to stand aside; Sir *William* did the like to his company, in the Boat; the Captain demanded of him, if he had the *Portugal* Language; he told him, he had sufficient to Treat of that business; acquainted him of the Place he commanded in the Fleet, intimated the affection and respect he bore the *Portugal* Nation, and that the Treaty which was offered, proceeded out of his motion, and wished him to make his proposals, which were as followeth, The first demand he made, was, *That they should be safely put on shoar with their Arms.* The Second, *That it should be done the same Night.* The Third, *That they should enjoy their Ship and Ordinance, as appertaining to the King, but we the Wealth.* The Fourth, *That the Flag and Ancient should not be taken down, but worn while the Carreck was unlading.* His Speech being ended, Sir *William* told him, *That his Demands gave suspicion, that under pretence of Parley, they meant Treachery, or that their hopes were greater, than there was cause; and, but that he knew it was the use of some men, to demand great things, when less will serve them, he would not lose his advantage, to entertain a Parley; he desired, that what they intended, might be quickly concluded, for Night growing on, might advantage them, and for his Resolution, he should understand it in few words, viz. To his first Demand, He was willing to yeild, That they should be put on shoar with their Arms. To the Second, That he was contented, that they should be set on shoar that Night, except Eight or Ten of the Principal Gentlemen, whom he would detain Three Days. To the Third, He held it idle and frivolous, to imagine, he would consent to separate Ship and Goods, and esteemed it *Por Cosa de burla*. To the Fourth, He would not consent, being resolved, never to permit a Spanish Flag to be worn in the presence of the Queens Ships, unless it were disgracefully, over the Roop.* There was long expostulations upon these points, and Sir *William Monson* seeing the obstinacy of the Captain, offered, in a great rage, to leap into his Boat, resolving to break the Treaty, which the



the rest of the Gentlemen perceiving, and that he had propounded nothing but what might very well stand with their Reputation, they intreated him once more to ascend into the Carreck, and they would enter into new Capitulations: The effect whereof, as it was agreed upon, were these that follow;

That a Messenger should be sent to the Admiral, to have his Confirmation of the points concluded on; and that in the mean time the Flag and Ancient should be taken down; and if the Admiral should not consent to the Agreement, they to have leisure to put out their Flag and Ancient before the Fight should begin. That the Company should be presently set on Shore; but the Captain, with eight other of the principal Gentlemen three days after. That the Ship with her Goods, should be surrendered without any Practice or Treason. That they should use their endeavors, that the Castle should forbear shooting whilst we rid in the Road; and this was the effect of the Conditions agreed upon. This Carreck Wintered in *Mosambicke*, in her return from the *Indies*, a place of great Infection, as appeared by the Mortality among them: For of 600 and odd men, twenty of them lived not to return Home. After a great deal of Calamity and Mortality, she arrived at this Port of *Cisembre*, as you have heard, the Viceroy of *Portugal*, having sent 11 Gallies to her Rescue, and 400 *mocas de Camera*, which is a Title of Gentlemen that serve the King upon any Honourable Occasion, when they are commanded. That she was brought to this pass, and forc'd to yield on these Conditions, Sir *Robert Cecil* was wont to impute to the Gentlemens Acquaintance with Sir *William Monson*. Although three days were limited for setting the Captain on Shore, yet it was held Discretion not to detain them longer than untill the Carreck was brought off safely to our Ships; and therefore Sir *William Monson* having carried the Captain, and the rest of the Gentlemen on board him, where they Supped, had variety of Musick, and spent the Night in great Jollity; the Morning following, accompanied them on Shore himself, whither the *Conde de Vitagera* had drawn down all the Force of the whole Country, amounting to the number of 10000 men.

I must not omit to describe the Behavior of the Gallies in the Fight, that every Man may have that Honor that is due to him: Those of *Portugal*, being of the Squadron of the Marques of *St. Cruz*, betook themselves, with their General, to Flight in the middle of the Fight; but *Frederico Spinola*, who was to convey his Gallies out of *Spain* into the Low Countreys, followed not the Example of the Marques, but made good the Road; which the other seeing, with Shame returned; but to both their Costs: for before they departed, they found the Climate so hot, as they were forc'd to fly, their Gallies being so miserably beaten, and their Slaves so pitifully slain, as there wanted nothing but Boats to possess them all, as well as the two we took and burnt; which is a thing hath been seldom seen or heard of, for Ships to take and destroy Gallies. The number of Men slain in the Town, the Castle, the Carreck and Gallies, are unknown, though they could not chuse but be many; the Wealth of the Carreck could then as ill be estimated, though after found to be great; the Value of the two Gallies burnt with their Loading of Powder, is hard to judge, though it's known to have been a Service of great Importance. For our Loss, it was not much, only one man killed in the Fly-Boat, five slain, and as many hurt in the *Garland*, and one hurt in the *Adventure*: Sir *William Monson* had the left Wing of his Doublet shot off, but received no other Hurt.

The



The day following, with a favourable Wind, we stood our Course for *England*, which brought us into 47 Degrees; and there we met a Pinnace, sent with a Pacquet from the Lords, signifying the readiness of a second Fleet to supply us, and the setting out of the *Hollanders*, which were so long looked for; which Fleet of *Holland* was in View of the Pinnace the same Night; but pass'd by us unseen. This unlooked for Accident made the Admiral and Vice-Admiral consider what to do, and concluded, they could not both appear at Home, and have a Fleet of so great Importance upon the Enemies Coast without a Guide or Head; and therefore they held it fit the Vice-Admiral should put himself into the *Nonperil*, as the ablest Ship of the Fleet, and make his Return once more to the Coast of *Spain*; but he having taken his Leave, and standing his Course for the Coast, a most violent Storm, with a contrary Wind took him, which continued ten days, and discovered the weakness of his Ship, who had like to have foundered in the Deep. The Carpenters and Company seeing the apparent Danger, if he bore not up before the Wind, presented him with a Petition, beseeching him to have a regard to their Lives; for by keeping the Seas they should all perish. Thus was he forc'd by mere Extremity to bear room for *England*; and coming for *Plymouth*, he found the Carreck safely arrived, and the Fleet he went back to take Charge of, not to have quitted the Coast of *England*.

Though it be somewhat impertinent to this Voyage, to treat of more than the Success thereof; yet I will a little digress, and relate the Mishap of that worthy Young Gentleman *Don Diego de Lobo*, Captain of the Carreck; and because his Worth will more appear by his Answer to Sir *William Monson's* Offer to him when he was his Prisoner; thus it was: Sir *William Monson* told him, he doubted, that by the loss of the Carreck, he had lost his best Means; for that he supposed, what he had gained in the *Indies*, was laden in her; and therefore offered, that what he would challenge upon his Reputation to be his own, he should have Freedom to carry along with him. The Gentleman acknowledged the Favor to be extraordinary; but replied, that what he had, he had gained by his Sword; and that his Sword, he doubted not, would repair his Fortunes again, utterly refusing to accept any Courtesie in that kind: But, poor Gentleman, ill Fortune thus left him not: For the Viceroy, *Don Cristoball de Moro*, holding it for a great indignity to have the Carreck taken out of the Port, that was defended by a Castle, and guarded with 11 Gallies, and especially in his hearing of the Ordinance to *Lisbon*, and in the view of thousands of People who beheld it; some of them feeling it too, by the loss of their Goods that were in her, others grieving for the Death of their Friends that were slain; but every man finding himself touched in Reputation.

*The Names of the Carrecks and Eleven Gallies.*

<i>The St. Valentine, a Carreck of one Thousand seven Hundred Tuns.</i>	<i>derick Spinola, burnt.</i>
<i>The Christopher, the Admiral of Portugal, wherein the Marquess de Santa Cruz went.</i>	<i>The Snis, in which Sir William Monson was Prisoner, 1591.</i>
<i>The St. Lewis, wherein Frederick Spinola went General of the Gallies of Spain.</i>	<i>The Occasion burnt, and the Captain taken Prisoner.</i>
<i>The Forteleza, Vice-Admiral to the Marquess.</i>	<i>The St. John Baptist.</i>
<i>The Trinidad, Vice-Admiral to Frederick Spinola, burnt.</i>	<i>The Lazear.</i>
	<i>The Padillar.</i>
	<i>The Philip.</i>
	<i>The St. John.</i>

And the Viceroy not knowing how to clear himself so well, as the laying it upon the Gentlemen he put on Board her, the same Night they returned to their Lodging, he caused the most part of them, with their Captain, to be apprehended, imputing the loss of the Carreck to their Cowardise and Fear, if not Treason and Connivance with the Enemy. After some time of Imprisonment, by mediation of Friends, all the Gentlemen were released but the Captain, who received secret Advice, that the Viceroy intended his Death, and that he should seek by Escape to prevent it. *Don Diego* being thus perplexed, practised with his Sister, who finding means for his Escape out of a Window, he fled into *Italy*, where he lived in Exile, from 1602. when this happened, untill 1615. His Government in the *Indies*, for which he had a Patent in Reversion, was confiscate, and he left hopeless ever to return into his Native Country, much less to be restored to his Command; an ill Welcome after so long and painful a Navigation. Having thus spent thirteen years in Exile, at the last he advised with Friends, whose Council he followed, to repair into *England*, there to enquire after some Commanders, that had been at the taking of the Carreck, by whose Certificate he might be cleared of Cowardise or Treason in the loss of her, which would be a good Motive to restore him to his Government again. In the Year 1515. he arrived in *London*, and after some Enquiry found out *Sir William Monson*, to whom he complained of his hard Mishap, craving the Assistance of him and some others, whom *Sir William* knew to be at the taking of the Carreck, and desired him to testify the manner of surprizing her, which he alleadged, was no more than one Gentleman was bound to afford another in such a case.

*Sir William* wondered to see him, and especially upon such an Occasion: For the present, he entertained him with all Courtesies; and the longer his stay was in *England*, the Courtesies were the greater, which *Sir William* did him. *Sir William* procured him a true and effectual Certificate from himself, *Sir Francis Howard*, Captain *Barlow*, and some others who were Witnesses of that Service; and to give it the more Reputation, he caused it to be inrolled in the Office of the Admiralty. The Gentleman being well satisfied with his Entertainment, and having what he desired, returned to *Flanders*, where

where he presented his Certificate to the Arch-Duke and the *Infanta*, by whose means he got Assurance, not only of the King's Favor, but of Restitution likewise to his Government. The poor Gentleman having been thus tossed by the Waves of Calamity, from one Country to another, and never finding rest; Death that masters all men, now cut him off short, in the midst of his hopes, as he was preparing his Journey for *Spain*; and this was an end of an unfortunate gallant young Gentleman, whose Deserts might justly have challenged a better reward, if God had pleased to afford it him.

*Sir William Monson to the Coast of Spain, Anno*  
1602.

Ships.	Commanders.
<i>The Swiftsuer</i>	<i>Sir Will. Monson</i>
<i>The Mary Rose</i>	<i>Capt. Trevers</i>
<i>The Dreadnought</i>	<i>Capt. Cawfield</i>
<i>The Adventure</i>	<i>Capt. Norris</i>
<i>The Answer</i>	<i>Capt. Brodgate</i>
<i>The Quittance</i>	<i>Capt. Browne</i>
<i>The Lions Whelp</i>	<i>Capt. May</i>
<i>The Paragon, A Merchant.</i>	<i>Capt. Jason</i>
<i>A small Carvel</i>	<i>Capt. Hooper</i>

**T**He Fleet of *Sir Richard Lemson* being happily returned, with the fortune of a Carreck, as you have heard, and the Queen having now no Ships upon the *Spanish Coast*, to impeach the Enemies preparations, she feared, the Fleet which was ready at the *Groyne*, would give a Second Assault upon *Ireland*; whereupon *Sir William Monson*, who by this time was arrived at *Plymouth*, was sent for in great haste, by her Majesty, to advise about, and take on him the charge of the Fleet, then at *Plymouth*. After a long Conference with *Sir William Monson*, in the presence of her Majesty, her Lord Admiral, Treasurer, and Secretary, it was Resolved, That *Sir William* should repair to *Plymouth*, and with all speed get forth those Ships, and others that were there making ready. His directions were, to present himself before the Harbor of the *Groyne*, being the place where the *Spaniards* made their Randevouz, and if he found any likelihood of a design upon *Ireland*, not to quit that Coast untill he saw the Issue, but if he found *Ireland* secure, and the Enemies preparations to be intended only for defence of their own Coasts, then his instructions led him thence, to the place where the *Holland Fleet* had order to attend, and expect him; and afterwards, the whole carriage of the Action was referred to his discretion, but with this caution, that above all respects of other profit or advantage, he attended the affair of *Ireland*. The Wind this part of the Summer hung contrary, and it was Six Weeks before he could clear the Coast, during which time, he lost his greatest hopes, by the return of the Carrecks of the *Indian Fleet*, which happened a full Month before his arrival: He set Sail from *Plymouth* the last of *August*, with a scant Wind, which continued with foul Weather, untill



untill he recovered the *Groyn*e, choosing rather to keep the Sea, then hazard the overthrow of the Voyage by his return.

He stayed at the *Groyn*e, until he understood that the Fleet which was suspected to be prepared for *Ireland*, was gone to *Lisbone*, to join with *Don Diego de Borachero*, who all that Summer durst not budge forth, for fear of our Fleet, that made good the Coast thereabouts: Sir *William* in his way to the Rock, commanded his Carvel to repair to the Islands of *Bayon*, as the likeliest place to procure Intelligence of the State of those parts; as the Carvel drew near the Islands, he discerned the *Spanish* Fleet, consisting of Twenty Four Sail, whose design was, as she understood by a Boat she took, to look out the *English* Fleet, whose coming they daily expected upon the Coast; and meeting Sir *William* with this news, he held it a good Service to be thus warned of them. Here he took two goodly Ships of *France*, bound for *Lisbone*, which Harbor he put them from, and took Pledges, that they should directly return into *France*, without touching in any Harbor of *Spain*, for that he understood, the *Spanish* Fleet was ill provided of men, and many other things which these Ships could supply. Sir *William* and the *Dreadnought*, were carried with a chase into the Road of *Cisumbre*, where the Carreck was taken not long before, and after some Fight with the Castle, who defended the Vessel chased, they came to a friendly Treaty, and Presents past between them.

That Night, while the Admiral rid in the Road, a Carvel coming in, not mistrusting him, was taken, but dismissed in a friendly manner; by whom he understood the affairs of *Lisbone*, but could get no notice of the *Holland* Fleet, which was appointed to attend at the Rock, whither once more he repaired.

Coming thither the 26th of September, a light was espied in the Night, which the Admiral chased, thinking it had been the Fleet of *St. Omer*, or *Brazil*, bound for *Lisbone*, where they were expected; but drawing so near them, that he might hail them, he found them, by the hugeness of their Vessels, and the number which answered the relation the Carvel made, to be the Armado of *Spain*: whereupon he sought means how to clear himself, being engaged amongst them, and made a *Spaniard* which served him call to them, but they could not hear him; the *Adventure* only, and the *Whelp*, were left with him, the rest losing company, Four nights before in a Storm; the Enemy perceiving our lights, and thinking it to be some Fleet of *Flemmings*, stood in amongst us, but the *Adventure* being discovered to be an Enemy, the Alarm was soon taken, and they shot at her, and slew and hurt some of her men; as soon as the day appeared, the *Spaniards* beheld the Three *English* Ships a head them, which they chased, and Three of them, which were better of Sail than the rest, fetcht upon us, and drew near the *Whelp*, who was of small Force to resist them.

But the Admiral resolving, though it was to his own evident Peril, not to see a Pinnace of her Majesties so lost, if so be he could rescue her with the loss of his Life, though it was much against the persuasions of his Master, and company, he stroak his two Sails for the *Whelp*, and commanded her to stand her course, while he staid for the Three *Spanish* Ships, with hope to make them have little list to pursue us: The Admiral of the *Spaniards* perceiving how little he cared for his Three Ships, in that he lingered for their coming up, took in with the shoar, and shot off a peice for his Three Ships to follow him. It may appear by this, as by several other expeditions of ours, how much the swift Sailing of Ships doth avail, being the principal advantage in Sea Service, and indeed the main thing we could presume upon,

on, in our War against the *Spaniards*. Sir *William* having thus escaped the Enemy, in his traverse at Sea, there happened, as there doth upon all Coasts, where there is plenty of Trade, divers occasions of chases; and one day Sir *William* following one Ship, and the *Adventure* another, they lost company for the whole Voyage.

Sir *William* was advertised by a Ship he took, being a *Frenchman*, who came from *St. Lucas*, that the *St. Domingo* Fleet was looked for daily, which Intelligence made him bear up for the *South Cape*, as well in hopes to meet with them, as to have news of his Fleet.

He was no sooner come to the *Cape*, but he was informed by some *English* men of War, that the *Domingo* Fleet was past by two days before; here he met with Ships of several Nations, some he rescued from Pirates, and to others that were in League with her Majesty, he gave his safe conduct, for their free passage on the Sea; he kept that Coast until the 21<sup>th</sup> of *October*, on which morning he gave chase to a Gallion of the King of *Spain*, who recovered the Castle of *Cape Sacre*, before he could fetch her up; although he knew the strength of the Castle, yet he attempted, and had carried her, had it not been for the fear and cowardize of him at the Helm, who bore up, when he was ready to Board her: The Fight was not long, but sharp and dangerous, for there never past shot between them, till they were within a Ships length one of another: The Castle plaid her part, and tore his Ship, so that a man might have crept through her: Between the Castle and Gallion, they slew in the Admiral Ten men, and hurt many more, in the view of *Sireago* and his Quadron, to the *Westward*, and of divers *English* men of War, to the *Eastward*, who durst not put themselves upon the rescue of Sir *William*, for fear of the Castle: Sir *William* being now left alone, and seeing what head Land soever he came unto, he was to encounter a *Spanish* Squadron, stood his course that night to Sea, thinking to try, if the Islands of *Terceras* would afford him any better Fortune, but coming within Forty or Fifty Leagues of the Islands, he was taken short with the Wind, yet still bearing up what he could for the Rock; but at length finding his Victuals grew short, his Mast perished, and the dangers he was exposed to, by keeping that Coast, he directed his course for *England*, and came to *Plymouth*, the 24<sup>th</sup> of *November*, where he found the *Mary-rose* and *Dreadnought*, most part of their men being dead or sick.

The *Adventure* arrived within an hour after him, who in her way homewards fell, fell amongst the *Brazil* Fleet, and encountering with them, lost divers men, but took none: The *Paragon* was at home long before, with a Prize of Sugar, and Spices, which countervailed the charge of the Voyage. The *Quittance* in her return, met Two Ships of *Dunkirk*, and in fight with them, her Captain was slain, but she acquitted her self very well, without further harm. This Fleet, as you have heard, was to keep the Enemy busied at home, that he might be diverted from the thoughts of *Ireland*; what hazard it endured by the Enemy, the fury of the Sea, and foul Weather, doth appear; and no marvel; for it was the latest Fleet in Winter, that ever kept upon the *Spanish* Coast, as it was likewise the last Fleet her Majesty employed; for in *March* after she died, and by her Death all War ceased. As Sir *William Monson* was General of this last Fleet, so was he a Soldier, and a Youth, at the beginning of the Wars, and was at the taking of the first *Spanish* Prize, that ever saw the *English* Coast, which yet was purchased with the loss of Twenty Five of our men, besides Fifty hurt. This Prize was afterwards a Man of War, and served against the *Spaniards*, and was in those days reckoned the best Ship of War we had; she was called

the Commander, and belonged to Sir George Carew, then Governor of the Isle of Wight.

*Sir Richard Lewson and Sir William Monson  
into the Narrow Seas, Anno 1603.*

Ships.	Commanders.
<i>The Repulse</i>	<i>Sir Richard Lewson</i>
<i>The Mere-honor</i>	<i>Sir William Monson</i>
<i>The Defiance</i>	<i>Capt. Goer</i>
<i>The Warspight</i>	<i>Capt. Seymers</i>
<i>The Rainbow</i>	<i>Capt. Trevor</i>
<i>The Dreadnought</i>	<i>Capt. Reynolds</i>
<i>The Quittance</i>	<i>Capt. Howard</i>
<i>The Lyons Whelp</i>	<i>Capt. Polwheele</i>

SIR William Monson returning with his Fleet, in November, there was a Resolution to furnish another against February, which should be recruited with fresh Ships, Men and Victuals in June. Sir Richard Lewson was to command the former Fleet, and Sir William Monson the later: For the Queen found it a Course both secure and profitable, to keep a continual Force upon the Spanish Coast, from February to November, that being the time of greatest Peril to her Majesty; and she was the rather encouraged thereto, by the safety she found the last Summer, and the Wealth and Riches she had from time to time taken from the Enemy. The Complaint of the ill furnishing out of her Ships in other Voyages, made it more carefully to be look'd unto now, and there was better Choice of Victuals and Men than usually had been; but in the mean time, it pleased God to visit her Majesty with Sicknes, which caused a ling'ring, though no absolute dissolving of the Fleet; but when her Danger was perceived to increase, the Ships were hastened out to Sea, it being a point of good Policy, to keep our Seas guarded from any Forreign Attempt, untill his Majesty should be peaceably settled in England.

This Fleet departed from *Quinborough* the 22th. of March, and arrived in the Downs the 25th. of the same, being the day after her Majesties Death. The News whereof, and Commandment to proclaim King James the Sixth of Scotland, our Lawful King, and the rightful Inheritor to the Crown, arrived both together; which put us into two contrary Passions, the one of Grief, the other of Joy: Grief for the Loss of the Queen, Joy for accepting of the King in that peaceable manner, which was a Happiness beyond all Expectation, either at home or abroad.

As the Design of this Fleet was to guard and defend our own Coasts from any Incurfion that might be made out of France or the Low Countreys; so the Commanders were vigilant to appear on those Coasts once in two days, to dishearten them, in case they had any such Thought; but the truth is, it was beyond their Abilities, whatever was in their Hearts to impugn his Majesty. And because the Arch-Duke would make the Candidness of his Intention apparent to the World, he called in his Letters of Reprizal against the English; and published an

Edict



Edict for a free and unmolested Traffick into *Flanders*: So that now our Merchants might again trade peaceably into those Parts from which they had been debarred the space of Eighteen Years. The King finding, that *France* neither impeached his Right, nor gave any Jealousie by the raising of an Army; and that the Arch-Duke made a Demonstration of his desire of Peace, his Majesty did the like, acknowledging the League he had with those Princes, with whom the late Queen had Wars: For Wars betwixt Countreys are not hereditary; but commonly end with the Death of their Kings: Wherefore he commanded his Ships to give over their *Southern* Employment, and to repair to *Chatham*, giving manifest Testimonies, how desirous he was that his Subjects should recover that Wealth and Freedom by Peace, which they had formerly lost by War.

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F I N I S.

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1871

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## DECLARATION

OF THE

## Horrible Treasons

Practised by *WILLIAM PARRY*  
Against the Queens Majesty ;

AND OF

His Conviction and Execution for the same,

The 2d. of *March* 1584. according to the account of *England*.



His *William Parry* being a man of very mean and base Parentage, but of a most proud and insolent Spirit, bearing himself always far above the measure of his Fortune, after he had long led a wasteful and dissolute life, and had committed a great Outrage against one *Hugh Hare*, a Gentleman of the *Inner-Temple*, with an intent to have murdered him in his own Chamber, for the which he was most justly convicted ; seeing himself generally condemned with all good men for the same, and other his Misdemeanours, he left his natural Country, and gave himself to travel into foreign parts beyond the Seas. In the course of this his Travel, he forsook his Allegiance and dutiful Obedience to her Majesty, and was reconciled, and subjected himself to the Pope. After which, upon conference with certain *Jesuites*, and others of like quality, he first conceived his most detestable Treason to kill the Queen ( whose life God long preserve ; ) which he bound himself by Promise, Letters, and Vows, to perform and execute : and so with this intent he returned into *England* in *January* 1583 ; and since that did practise at sundry times to have executed his most devilish purpose and determination : yet covering the same, so much as in him lay, with a vail and pretence of great Loyalty to her Majesty.

Immediately upon his return into *England*, he sought to have secret Access to her Majesty, pretending to have some matter of great importance to reveal unto her : which obtained, and the

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same so privately in her Highness's Palace at *Whitehal*, as her Majesty had but one onely Counsellor with her at the time of his Access, in a remote place, who was so far distant, as he could not hear his Speech. And there then he discovered unto her Majesty (but shadowed with all crafty and traiterous skill he had) some part of the Conference and Proceeding, as well with the said *Jesuites*, and other Ministers of the Popes, as especially with one *Thomas Morgan*, a Fugitive, residing at *Paris*, who above all others did perswade him to proceed in that most devilish Attempt, (as is set down in his voluntary Confession following,) bearing her Majesty notwithstanding in hand, That his onely intent of proceeding so far with the said *Jesuites*, and the Popes Ministers, tended to no other end, but to discover the dangerous Practices devised and attempted against her Majesty by her disloyal Subjects, and other malicious persons in forraign parts. Albeit it hath since appeared most manifestly, as well by his said Confession, as by his dealing with one *Edmond Nevil* Esq; That his onely intent of discovering the same in sort as he craftily and traiterously did, tended to no other end, but to make the way the easier to accomplish his most devilish and wicked purpose.

And although any other Prince but her Majesty (who is loath to put on a hard Censure of those that protest to be loyal, as *Parry* did,) would rather have proceeded to the punishment of a Subject that had waded so far, as by Oath and Vow to promise the taking away of her life (as he to her Majesties self did confess;) yet such was her goodness, as instead of punishing, she did deal so graciously with him, as she suffered him not onely to have Access unto her presence, but also many times to have private Conference with her; and did offer unto him, upon opinion once conceived of his fidelity towards her (as though his wicked pretence had been, as he protested, for her service) a most liberal Pension.

Besides, to the end that he might not grow hateful to the good and well-affected Subjects of the Realm, (from whom he could in no sort have escaped with safety of his life, if his devilish purpose had been revealed) her Majesty did conceal the same, without communicating it to any creature, untill such time as he himself had opened the same unto certain of her Council; and that it was also discovered, that he sought to draw the said *Nevil* to have been a party in his devilish and most wicked purpose.

A very rare Example! and such as doth more set forth the singular goodness and bounty of her Majesties Princely nature, than com-

commend (if it be lawful for a Subject to censure his Sovereign) her providence such as ought to be in a Prince and person of her Majesties wisdom and quality. And as the goodness of her Majesties nature did hereby most manifestly shew it self to be rare in so extraordinary a case, and in a matter of so great peril unto her own Royal Person; so did the malice of *Parry* most evidently appear to be in the highest and extreamest degree: who notwithstanding the said extraordinary grace and favour extended towards him, did not onely perswade the said *Nevil* to be an Associate in the said wicked Enterprize, but did also very vehemently (as *Nevil* confesseth) importune him therein, as an Action lawful, honourable, and meritorious, omitting nothing that might provoke him to assent thereunto.

But such was the singular goodness of Almighty God, ( who even from her Majesties Cradle, by many evident Arguments, hath shewed himself her onely and especial Protector ) that he so wrought in *Nevil*'s heart, as he was moved to reveal the same unto her Majesty; and for that purpose made choise of a faithful Gentleman, and of good quality in the Court, unto whom upon *Munday* the 8th of *February* last, he discovered at large all that had passed between *Parry* and him; who immediately made it known to her Majesty: whereupon her Highnesses pleasure was, That *Nevil* should be examined by the Earl of *Leicester*, and Sir *Christopher Hatton*; who in the evening of the same day did examine him; and he affirmed constantly all which he had before declared to the said Gentleman.

In the mean time, her Majesty continued her singular and most Princely magnanimity, neither dismayed with the rareness of the Accident, nor appaled with the horreur of so villanous an Enterprize, tending even to the taking away of her most gracious life; ( a matter especially observed by the Counsellor that was present at such time as *Parry*, after his return, did first discover unto her Majesty his wicked purpose; who found no other alteration in her countenance, than if he had imparted unto her some matter of contentment; ) which sheweth manifestly how she reposeth her confidence wholly in the defence of the Almighty. And so her Majesty, following the wonted course of her singular Clemency, gave order that *Parry* the same *Munday* in the evening ( though not so known to him ) should be sent to Mr. Secretaries house in *London*, he being then there; who according unto such direction as he received from her Majesty, did let him understand, That her High-

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ness (in respect of the good will she knew he bare unto the said *Parry*, and of the Trust that *Parry* did outwardly profess to repose in Mr. Secretary ) had made especial choice of him to deal with him in a matter that concerned her highly ; and that she doubted not but that he would discharge his duty towards her, according unto that extraordinary devotion that he professed to bear unto her.

And thereupon told him that her Majesty had been advertised that there was somewhat intended presently against her own Person, wherewith she thought he could not but be made acquainted, considering the great Trust that some of her worst-affected Subjects reposed in him ; and that her pleasure therefore was, That he should declare unto him his knowledge therein : and whether the said *Parry* himself had let fall any speech unto any person ( though with an intent onely to have discovered his disposition ) that might draw him in suspition, as though he himself had any such wicked intent. But *Parry* with great and vehement protestations denied it utterly ; whereupon Mr. Secretary, the rather to induce him to deal more plainly in a matter so important, declared unto him, That there was a Gentleman of Quality, every way as good or better than himself, and rather his Friend than Enemy, that would avouch it to his face : Yet *Parry* persisted stubbornly in his former denial, and justification of his own innocency ; and would not in any respect yield that he was party or privy to any such Motion, Enterprize, or intent. And being lodged that night at Mr. Secretaries house, the next morning he desired earnestly to have some further speech with Mr. Secretary ; which granted, *Parry* declared to him, that he had called to remembrance that he had once some speech with one *Nevil* a Kinsman of his ( so he called him ) touching a point of Doctrine contained in the Answer made to the Book, entituled, *The Execution of Justice in England* ; by which book it was resolved, That it was lawful to take away the Life of a Prince, in furtherance of the Catholick Religion : But he protested that they never had any speech at all of any Attempt intended against her Majesties Person. Which Denial of his ( at two sundry times, after so much light given him ) doth set forth most apparently both the Justice and Providence of God : His Justice, for that ( though he was one of a sharp conceit ) he had no power to take hold of this Overture, thereby to have avoided the danger that *Nevil's* Accusation might bring him into by confessing the same, as a thing propounded onely to feel *Nevil's* mind, whom



whom before he had reported unto Master Secretary he found a person discontented, and therefore his Confession might to very great purpose have served to have cleared himself touching the intent: His Providence, for that of his great Mercy he would not suffer so dangerous and wicked a member to escape, and to live to Her Majesties peril.

The same day at Night Parry was brought to the Earl of *Leicester's* house, and there estsoons examined before the said Earl of *Leicester*, Master Vice-Chamberlain, and Master Secretary: He persisted still in his denial of all that he was charged with. Whereupon *Nevil*, being brought before him face to face, justified his Accusation against him. He notwithstanding would not yet yield to confess it, but very proudly and insolently opposed his Credit against the Credit of *Nevil*, affirming that his *No* was as good as *Nevil's* *Yea*; and as by way of recrimination, objected the Crime to *Nevil* himself. On the other side, *Nevil* did with great Constancy affirm all that he had before said, and did set down many probable Circumstances of the Times, Places, and Manners of their sundry Conferences, and of such other Accidents as had happened between them in the course of that Action. Whereupon Parry was then committed to the *Tower*, and *Nevil* commanded by their Honours to set down in writing under his Hand, all that which before he had delivered by words: which he did with his own hand, as followeth.

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**Edmund Nevil his Declaration the 10th of February, 1584. subscribed with his own Hand.**

**W**illiam Parry the last Summer, soon after his repulse in his Suit for the Mastership of *St. Katherines*, repaired to my Lodging in the *White Friars*, where he shewed himself a person greatly discontented, and vehemently inveighed against Her Majesty, and willed me to assure my self, that during this time and state, I should never receive Contentment. But sith, said he, I know you to be Honourably descended, and a Man of Resolution, if you will give me assurance, either to joyn with me, or not to discover me, I will deliver unto you the only means to do your self good. Which when I had promised him, he appointed me to come the next day to his House in

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*Fetterlane* : and repairing thither accordingly, I found him in his Bed ; whereupon he commanded his men forth, and began with me in this order. My Lord, said he, (for so he called me) *I protest before God, that three Reasons principally do induce me to enter into this Action, which I intend to discover unto you ; the replanting of Religion , the preferring of the Scottish Title , and the advancement of Justice, wonderfully corrupted in this Commowalth : And thereupon entred into some Discourses what places were fit to be taken, to give entrance to such Forreign Forces as should be best liked of, for the furtherance of such Enterprizes as were to be undertaken. And with these Discourses he passed the time, until he went to Dinner : after which, the Company being retired, he entred into his former discourses. And if I be not deceived, (said he ) by taking of Quinborough-Castle , we shall hinder the passage of the Queens Ships forth of the River. Whereunto when he saw me use no contradiction, he shook me by the hand ; Tush, said he, this is nothing : If men were resolute, there is an Enterprize of much more moment, and much easier to perform ; an Act honourable and meritorious to God and the world. Which seeing me desirous to know, he was not ashamed to utter in plain terms, to consist in killing of her Majesty : Wherein, saith he, if you will go with me, I will loose my Life, or deliver my Countrey from her bad and tyrannous Government. At which Speeches finding me discontented, he asked me, if I had read Doctor Allen's Book, out of which he alledged an Authority for it. I answered, No, and that I did not believe that Authority. Well, said he, what will you say, if I shew further Authority than this, even from Rome itself a plain Dispensation for the killing of her, wherein you shall finde it (as I said before) meritorious ? Good Cousin, said I, when you shall shew it me, I shall think it very strange, when I shall see one so bold that for meritorious, which another holdeth for damnable. Well, said Parry, do me but the favour to think upon it till to morrow : And if one man be in the Town, I will not fail to shew you the thing it self : and if he be not, he will be within these five or six days ; at which time if it please you to meet me at Chanon-row, we may there receive the Sacrament to be true each to other, and then I will discover unto you both the party, and the thing it self. Whereupon I prayed Parry to think better upon it, as a matter of great charge both of Soul and Body. I would to God, said Parry, you were as perfectly perswaded in it as I am, for then undoubtedly you should do God great service.*

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Not long after, eight or ten days, (as I remember) *Parry* coming to visit me at my lodging in *Herns* rents in *Holborn*, as he often used, we walked forth into the fields, where he renewed again his determination to kill her Majesty, whom he said he thought most unworthy to live, and that he wondred I was so scrupulous therein. She hath fought, said he, your ruine and overthrow, why should you not then seek to revenge it? I confesse, quoth I, that my case is hard, but yet am I not so desperate as to revenge it upon my self, which must needs be the event of so dishonest and impossible an enterprife. Impossible, said *Parry*, I wonder at you; for in truth there is not any thing more easie: you are no Courtier, and therefore know not her customs of walking with small train, and often in the Garden very privately, at which time my self may easily have access unto her, and you also when you are known in Court. Upon the fact we must have a Barge ready to carry us with speed down the River, where we will have a ship ready to transport us if it be needfull: but upon my head, we shall never be followed so far. I asked him, How will you escape forth of the Garden? for you shall not be permitted to carry any men with you, and the Gates will then be locked, neither can you carry a Dagge without suspicion. As for a Dagge, said *Parry*, I care not: my Dagger is enough. And as for my escaping, those that shall be with her, will be so busie about her, as I shall finde opportunity enough to escape, if you be there ready with the Barge to receive me. But if this seem dangerous in respect of your reason before shewed, let it then rest till her coming to *St. James*, and let us furnish our selves in the mean time with men and horse fit for the purpose: we may each of us keep eight or ten men without suspicion. And for my part, said he, I shall finde good fellows that will follow me without suspecting mine intent. It is much, said he, that so many resolute men may do upon the suddain, being well appointed with each his Case of Dagges: if they were an hundred waiting upon her, they were not able to save her; you coming of the one side and I on the other, and discharging our Dagges upon her, it were unhappy if we should both miss her. But if our Dagges fail, I shall bestir me well with a sword ere she escape me. Whereunto I said, Good Doctor give over this odious enterprife, and trouble me no more with the hearing of that, which in heart I loath so much. I would to God the enterprife were honest, that I might make known unto thee whether I want resolu-



solution. And not long after, her Majesty came to St. *James's*; after which, one morning (the day certain I remember not,) *Parry* revived again his former discourie of killing her Majesty, with great earnestness and importunity perswading me to joyn therein: saying, he thought me the onely man of *England* like to perform it, in respect of my valure, as he termed it.

Whereupon, I made semblance as if I had been more willing to hear him than before, hoping by that means to cause him to deliver his minde to some other that might be witness thereof with me; wherein nevertheless I failed. After all this, on Saturday last, being the sixth of *February*, between the hours of five and six in the afternoon, *Parry* came to my Chamber, and desired to talk with me apart: whereupon we drew our selves to a window. And where I had told *Parry* before, that a learned man whom I met by chance in the fields, unto whom I proponed the question touching her Majesty, had answered me that it was an enterprife most villanous and damnable, willing me to discharge my self of it: *Parry* then desired to know that learned mans name, and what was become of him, saying, after a scornful manner, No doubt he was a very wise man, and you wiser in believing him: and said further, I hope you told him not that I had any thing from *Rome*. Yes in truth, said I. Whereunto *Parry* said, I would you had not named me, nor spoken of any thing I had from *Rome*. And thereupon he earnestly perswaded me estoons to depart beyond the Seas, promising to procure me safe passage into *Wales*, and from thence into *Britain*; whereat we ended. But I then resolved not to do so, but to discharge my conscience, and lay open this his most traiterous and abominable intention against her Majesty: which I revealed in sort as is before set down.

*Edmund Nevil.*

After this confession of *Edmund Nevil*, *William Parry* the 11th. day of *February* last, being examined in the *Tower of London*, by the Lord *Hunsdon*, Lord Governour of *Barwick*, Sir *Christopher Hatton* knight, Vicechamberlain to her Majesty, and Sir *Francis Walsingham* Knight, principal Secretary to her Majesty, did voluntary and without any constraint, by word of mouth make confession of his said Treason; and after, set it down in writing all with his own hand in his Lodging in the *Tower*, and sent it to the Court the 13th. of the same, by the *Lieutenant* of the *Tower*. The parts

parts whereof concerning his manner of doing the same, and the Treasons wherewith he was justly charged are here set down, word for word, as they are written and signed with his own hand and name, the 11th. of February, 1584.

*The voluntary Confession of William Parry, in writing  
all with his own hand.*

*The voluntary Confession of William Parry Doctor of the Laws, (now Prisoner in the Tower) and accused of Treason by Edmund Nevil Esquire, promised by him (with all faith and humility) to the Queens Majesty, in discharge of his Conscience and Duty towards God and her. Before the Lord Hunston, Lord Governour of Barwick, Sir Christopher Hatton Knight, Vicechamberlain, Sir Francis Walsingham Knight, principal Secretary, the 13th. of February, 1584.* Parry.

**I**N the year 1570. I was sworn her Majesties servant, from which time until the year 1580. I served, honoured, and loved her with as great readines, devotion, and assurance as any poor subject in *England*. In the end of that year, and until Midsummer 1582. I had some trouble for the hurting of a Gentleman of the *Temple*. In which action I was so disgraced and oppressed by two great men (to whom I have of late been beholden) that I never had contented thought since. There began my misfortune, and here followeth my woful fall.

In *July* after, I laboured for licence to travail for three years, which (upon some consideration) was easily obtained. And so in *August*, I went over with doubtful minde of return, for that being suspected in Religion, and not having received the Communion in twenty two years, I began to mistrust my advancement in *England*. In *September* I came to *Paris*, where I was reconciled to the Church, and advised to live without scandal, the rather, for that it was mistrusted by the English Catholiques, that I had Intelligence with the greatest Councillour of *England*. I staid not long there, but removed to *Lions* (a place of great Traffick) where, because it was the ordinary passage of our Nation to and fro, between *Paris* and *Rome*, I was also suspected.

To put all men out of doubt of me, and for some other cause,

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I went to *Millain*, from whence, as a place of some danger (though I found favour there) after I had cleared my conscience, and justified my self in Religion before the Inquisitor, I went to *Venice*. There I came acquainted with father *Benedicto Palmio*, a grave and a learned Jesuite. By conference with him of the hard state of the Catholicks in *England*, and by reading of the Book *De persecutione Anglicana*, and other discourses of like argument, I conceived a possible mean to relieve the afflicted state of our Catholicks, if the same might be well warranted in religion and conscience by the Pope, or some learned Divines. I asked his opinion; he made it clear, commended my devotion, comforted me in it, and after a while made me known to the Nuntio *Campeggio*, there resident for his Holiness. By his means I wrote to the Pope, presented the service, and sued for a Pasport to go to *Rome*, and to return safely into *France*. Answer came from Cardinal *Como*, that I might come, and should be welcome. I misliked the warrant, sued for a better, which I was promised: but it came not before my departure to *Lions*, where I promised to stay some time for it. And being indeed desirous to go to *Rome*, and loth to go without countenance, I desired *Christofero de Salazar*, Secretary to the Catholick King in *Venice*, who had some understanding by conference, of my devotion to the afflicted Catholicks at home and abroad, to commend me to the Duke *di Nova Terra*, Governour of *Millain*, and to the County of *Olivaris Embi*, then Resident for the King his Master in *Rome*: which he promised to do effectually for the one, and did for the other. And so I took my journey towards *Lyons*, whither came for me an ample Passeport (but somewhat too late,) that I might come and go *in verbo Pontificis per omnes jurisdictiones Ecclesiasticas, absque impedimento*. I acquainted some good Fathers there, of my necessity to depart towards *Paris* by promise, and prayed their advises upon divers points; wherein I was well satisfied. And so assuring them that his Holiness should hear from me shortly, it was undertaken that I should be excused for that time.

In October I came to *Paris*, where (upon better opinion conceived of me amongst my Catholick Country-men) I found my credit well settled, and such as mistrusted me before, ready to trust and imbrace me. And being one day at the Chamber of *Thomas Morgan* a Catholick Gentleman (greatly beloved and trusted on that side) amongst other Gentlemen, talking (but in very good sort) of *England*, I was desired by *Morgan* to go up with him to  
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another Chamber, where he brake with me, and told me that it was hoped and looked for, that I should do some service for God and his Church. I answered him, I would do it, if it were to kill the greatest subject in *England*; whom I named, and in truth then hated. No, no, said he, let him live to his greater fall and ruine of his house:

2 *It is the Queen I mean. I had him as I wished, and told him it were soon done, if it might be lawfully done, and warranted in the opinion of some learned Divines. And so the doubt once resolved (though as you have heard I was before reasonably well satisfied) I vowed to undertake the enterprize, for the restitution of England to the ancient obedience of the Sea Apostolick. Divers Divines were named. Doctor Allein I desired, Parsons I refused. And by chance came Master Wattes a learned Priest, with whom I conferred, and was over-ruled.*

3 For he plainly pronounced (the case onely altered in name) that it was utterly unlawful: with whom many English Priests did agree as I have heard, if it be not altered since *the book made in answer of The execution of the English Justice was published, which I must confess hath taken hard hold in me, and (I fear me) will do in others, if it be not prevented by more gracious handling of the quiet and obedient Catholick subjects, whereof there is good and greater store in England, than this age will extinguish. Well, notwithstanding all these doubts, I was gone so far by letters and conference in Italy, that I could not go back, but promised faithfully to perform the enterprize, if his Holiness upon my offer and letters would allow it, and grant me full remission of my sins.* 4 *I wrote my letters the first of January 1584. by their computation; took advice upon them in confession of Father Anibal a Codreto a learned Jesuite in Paris, was lovingly embraced, commended, confessed, and communicated at the Jesuites at one altar with the Cardinals of Vandosimi, and Narbone, whereof I prayed certificate, and enclosed the same in my Letter to his Holiness, to lead him the rather to absolve me; which I required by my Letters, in consideration of so great an enterprize undertaken without promise or reward.* 5 *I went with Morgan to the Nuntio Ragazzoni, to whom I read the Letter and certificate enclosed, sealed it, and left it with him to send to Rome: he promised great care of it, and to procure answer: And so lovingly imbraced me, wished me good speed, and promised that I should be remembred at the altar.* 6 *After this I desired Morgan, that some special man might be made privy to this matter, lest he dying, and I*  
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*miscarrying in the execution, and my intent never truly discovered, it might stick for an everlasting spot in my Race.* Divers were named, but none agreed upon for fear of beraying. 7 This being done, *Morgan* assured me, that shortly after my departure, *the L. Fernehurst (then in Paris)* should go into Scotland, and be ready upon the first news of the *Queens* fall to enter into England with 20 or 30000 Men to defend the Queen of Scotland, (whom, and the King her Son, I do in my conscience acquit of any privity, liking, or consent to this, or any other bad action, for any thing that ever I did know.) I shortly departed for England, and arrived at *Rie* in January 1583. from whence I wrote to the Court, advertised some, that I had a special service to discover to the *Queens* Majesty; 8 *which I did more to prepare access and credit, than for any care I had of her Person,* though I were fully resolved never to touch her (notwithstanding any Warrant) if by any device, perswasion, or policy she might be wrought to deal more graciously with the Catholicks than she doth, or by our manner of proceeding in Parliament meaneth to do, or any thing yet seen. I came to the Court, (then at *Whitehall*,) prayed audience, had it at large, and very privately discovered to her Majesty this Conspiracy, much to this effect, *though covered with all the skill I had:* she took it doubtfully, I departed with fear. And amongst other things, I cannot forget her Majesties gracious speech then uttered touching the Catholicks, which of late, after a sort I avowed in Parliament: she said to me, that never a Catholick should be troubled for Religion or Supremacy, so long as they lived like good Subjects. Whereby I mistrusted that her Majesty is born in hand, that none is troubled for the one or the other. It may be truly said, that it is better than it hath been, though it be not yet as it should be.

In March last, while I was at *Greenwich* (as I remember) suing for *St. Katherines*, came Letters to me from Cardinal *Como*, dated at *Rome*, the last of January before, whereby I found the enterprise commended, and allowed, and my self absolved (in his Holiness name) of all my sins, and willed to go forward in the name of God. That Letter I shewed to some in Court, who imparted it to the Queen: what it wrought, or may work in her Majesty, God knoweth: onely this I know, 9 that it confirmed my resolution to kill her, and made it clear in my conscience, that it was lawful and meritorious. And yet was I determined never to do it, if either policy, practice, perswasion, or motion in Parliament could prevail. I feared to be tempted, and therefore always when I came near her, I left my  
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Dagger at home. 10 *When I looked upon her Majesty, and remembered her many excellencies, I was greatly troubled : And yet I saw no remedy, for my Vows were in Heaven, my Letters and Promises in Earth, and the case of the Catholick Recusants, and others, little bettered. Sometimes I said to my self, Why should I care for her ? what hath she done for me ? have I not spent 10000 Marks since I knew her service, and never had peny by her ? It may be said, she gave me my life. But I say (as my case stood) it had been Tyranny to take it : And I fear me it is little less yet. If it please her graciously to look into my discontentments, I would to Jesus Christ she had it, for I am weary of it. And now to come to an end of this tragical discourse : In July I left the Court, utterly rejected, discontented, and as her Majesty might perceive by my passionate Letters, careless of my self. I came to London : Doctor Alleins Book was sent me out of France : 11 it redoubled my former conceits : Every word in it was a warrant to a prepared mind : It taught that Kings may be excommunicated, deprived, and violently handled : It proveth that all Wars Civil or Forraign undertaken for Religion, is Honorable. Her Majesty may do well to read it, and to be out of doubt (if things be not amended) that it is a warning, and a Doctrine full dangerous. This is the Book I shewed, in some places read, and lent it to my Cousin Nevil (the accuser) who came often to mine house, put his finger in my Dish, his hand in my Purse ; and the night wherein he accused me, was wrapped in my Gown, six moneths at least after we had entred into this Conspiracy : In which space her Majesty, and ten Princes in several Provinces might have been killed. God bless her Majesty from him : for before Almighty God, I joy and am glad in my soul, that it was his hap to discover me in time ; though there were no danger near.*

And now to the manner of our meetings. He came to me in the beginning of August, and spake to me in this or like sort. Cousin, let us do somewhat, sithens we can have nothing. I offered to joyn with him, and gladly heard him, *hoping because I knew him to be a Catholick, that he would hit upon that I had in my head : but it fell not out so. He thought the delivery of the Queen of Scotland easie, presuming upon his Credit and Kindred in the North : I thought it dangerous to her, and impossible to men of our fortunes : He fell from that to the taking of Barwick : I spake of Quinborough and the Navy, rather to entertain him with discourse, than that I cared for those motions, my head being full*



of a greater matter: 12 I told him that I had another manner of Enterprife, more honourable and profitable to us, and the Catholicks Common-wealth, than all these, if he would joyn in it with me, as he presently vowed to do: He pressed to know it; I willed him to sleep upon the motion: He did so, (and belike overtaken) came to me the next morning to my Lodging in London, offered to joyn with me, and took his Oath upon a Bible, to conceal and constantly to pursue the enterprife for the advancement of Religion; which I also did, and meant to perform: the killing of the Queen was the matter.

The manner and place, to be on Horsback, with eight or ten horses, when she should ride abroad about St. James, or some other like place. It was once thought fit in a Garden, and that the escape would be easiest by water into Shepey, or some other part: but we resolved upon the first.

This continued as agreed upon many moneths, until he heard of the death of Westmoreland, whose Land and Dignity (whereof he assured himself) bred belike this Conscience in him to discover a Treason in February, contrived and agreed upon in August. If it cost him not an ambitious Head at last, let him never trust me. He brought a tall Gentleman (whom he commended for an excellent Pistolier) to me to Chanon-Row, to make one in the match: but I refused to deal with him, being loth to lay my head upon so many hands.

Master Nevil hath (I think) forgotten, that he did swear to to me at divers times, that all the advancement she could give, should serve but for her scourge, if ever time and occasion should serve: and that though he would not lay hand upon her in a corner, his heart served him to strike off her Head in the field. Now leaving him to himself, this much (to make an end) I must confess of my self, I did mean to try what might be done in Parliament, to do my best to hinder all hard courses, to have prayed hearing of the Queens Majesty, to move her (if I could) to take compassion upon her Catholick Subjects; and when all had failed, to do as I intended. If her Majesty by this course would have eased them, though she had never preferred me; I had with all comfort and patience born it: 13 but if she had preferred me without ease or care of them, the Enterprife had held.

Parry.

God preserve the Queen, and encline her merciful heart to forgive me this desperate purpose; and to take my Head (with all my heart) for her better satisfaction.

After

After which, for the better manifesting of his Treasons, on the 14th of February last, there was a Letter written by him to her Majesty, very voluntarily, all of his own Hand, without any motion made to him: The tenor whereof, for that which concerneth these his Traiterous dealings, is as followeth.

### A Letter written by *Parry* to Her Majesty.

**Y**Our Majesty may see by my voluntary Confession, the dangerous fruits of a discontented minde; and how constantly I pursued my first conceived purpose in Venice, for the relief of the afflicted Catholicks; continued it in Lions, and resolved in Paris to put it in adventure, for the Restitution of England to the antient Obedience of the See Apostolick. You may see withal, how it is Commended, Allowed, and Warranted in Conscience, Divinity, and Policy, by the Pope and some great Divines: Though it be true or likely, that most of our English Divines (less practised in matters of this weight) do utterly mislike and condemn it.

The Enterprize is prevented, and Conspiracy discovered by an honourable Gentleman, my Kinsman and late familiar Friend, Master Edmund Nevil, privy and by solemn Oath (taken upon the Bible) party to the matter, whereof I am hardly glad, but now sorry (in my very Soul) that ever I conceived or intended it, how commendable or meritorious soever I thought it. God thank him, and forgive me, who would not now (before God) attempt it (if I had liberty and opportunity to do it) to gain your Kingdome. I beseech Christ, that my Death and Example may as well satisfie your Majesty and the world, as it shall glad and content me.

The Queen of Scotland is your Prisoner; let her be honourably entreated, but yet surely guarded.

The French King is French, you know it well enough, you will finde him occupied when he should do you good; he will not loose a Pilgrimage to save you a Crown. I have no more to say at this time, but that with my Heart and Soul I do now honour and love you; am inwardly sorry for mine Offence, and ready to make you amends by my Death and Patience. Discharge me à culpâ, but not à pœnâ, good Lady. And so farewell, most gracions, and the best-natured and qualified Queen that ever lived in England. From the Tower,  
the 14th of February, 1584.

W. Parry.

After

After which, to wit, the 18th of *February* last past, *Parry*, in further acknowledging his wicked and intended Treasons, wrote a Letter all of his own hand, in like voluntary manner, to the Lord Treasurer of *England*, and the Earl of *Leicester*, Lord Steward of her Majesties house; the Tenour whereof is as followeth.

William Parry's Letter to the Lord Treasurer, and the Earl of Leicester.

“MY Lords, now that the Conspiracy is discovered, the  
 “Fault confessed, my Conscience cleared, and Minde  
 “prepared patiently to suffer the Pains due for so heinous a  
 “Crime: I hope it shall not offend you, if crying *Miserere* with  
 “the poor Publican, I leave to despair with curst *Cain*. My  
 “Case is rare and strange, and, for any thing I can remember,  
 “singular: A natural Subject solemnly to vow the Death of his  
 “natural Queen (so born, so known, and so taken by all men)  
 “for the Relief of the afflicted Catholicks, and Restitution of  
 “Religion. The Matter first conceived in *Venice*, the Service  
 “(in general words) presented to the Pope, continued and un-  
 “dertaken in *Paris*; and lastly, commended and warranted by  
 “his Holiness, digested and resolved in *England*, if it had not  
 “been prevented by Accusation, or by her Majesties greater  
 “Lenity and more gracious Usage of her Catholick Subjects.  
 “This is my first and last Offence conceived against my Prince  
 “or Country, and doth (I cannot deny) contain all other  
 “faults whatsoever. It is now to be punished by Death, or  
 “most graciously (beyond all common expectation) to be par-  
 “doned. Death I do confess to have deserved; Life I do  
 “(with all Humility) crave, if it may stand with the Queens  
 “Honour, and Policy of the Time. To leave so great a  
 “Treason unpunished, were strange: To draw it by my Death  
 “in example, were dangerous: A sworn Servant to take upon  
 “him such an Enterprize, upon such a ground, and by such a war-  
 “rant, hath not been seen in *England*: To Indict him, Ar-  
 “raign him, bring him to the Scaffold, and to publish his Offence,  
 “can do no good: To hope that he hath more to discover  
 “than is Confessed, or that at his Execution he will unsay any  
 “thing he hath written, is in vain: To conclude, that it is im-  
 “possible for him in time to make some part of amends, were  
 “very



“very hard, and against former Experiences. The Question  
 “then is, whether it be better to kill him, or ( lest the matter  
 “be mistaken) upon hope of his amendment to pardon him. For  
 “mine own opinion (though partial) I will deliver you my Con-  
 “science. The Case is good Queen *Elizabeths*, the Offence is  
 “committed against her Sacred Person, and she may (of her  
 “Mercy) pardon it without prejudice to any. Then this I say,  
 “in few words, as a man more desirous to discharge his troubled  
 “Conscience, than to live. Pardon poor *Parry*, and relieve him:  
 “for life without living is not fit for him. If this may not be, or  
 “be thought dangerous, or dishonourable to the Queens Majesty  
 “(as by your favours, I think it full of Honour and Mercy) then  
 “I beseech your Lordships (and no other) once to hear me be-  
 “fore I be Indicted, and afterwards ( if I must dye) humbly  
 “to intreat the Queens Majesty to hasten my Trial and Execu-  
 “tion, which I pray God (with all my heart) may prove as  
 “honourable to her, as I hope it shall be happy to me; who  
 “will, while I live, (as I have done always) pray to Jesus Christ  
 “for her Majesties long and prosperous Reign. From the *Tower*,  
 “the 18th of *February*, 1584. *W. Parry.*

And where in this mean time Sir *Francis Walsingham*, Secre-  
 tary to her Majesty, had dealt with one *William Creichton*, a Scot  
 for his Birth, and a Jesuit by his Profession, now Prisoner also  
 in the *Tower*, for that he was apprehended with divers Plots for  
 Invasions of this Realm, to understand of him, if the said *Parry*  
 had ever dealt with him in the parties beyond the Seas touching  
 that Question, Whether it were lawful to kill her Majesty, or  
 not: the which at that time the said *Creichton* called not to his  
 remembrance; yet after upon better calling it to minde, upon  
 the 20th day of *February* last past, he wrote to Master Secretary  
*Walsingham* thereof voluntaty, all of his own hand, to the effect  
 following.

### William Creichtons Letter. February 20.

“**R**ight honourable Sir, when your Honour demanded me if  
 “Mr. *Parry* did ask me, If it was reason to kill the  
 “Queen, indeed and verity, then I had no remembrance at all  
 “thereof. But since, thinking on the matter, I have called to  
 “mind the whole fashion of his dealing with me, and some of his  
 F Argu-

" Arguments: for he dealt very craftily with me, I dare not say  
 " maliciously. For I did in no ways think of any such design of  
 " his, or of any other, and did answer him simply after my consci-  
 " ence and knowledge to the verity of the question. For after  
 " that I had answered him twice before, *Quod Dominum non liceret*,  
 " he returned late at Even, by reason I was to depart early in the  
 " next Morning toward *Chamberie* in *Savoy* where I did remain,  
 " and being return'd out of the Close within one of the Classes of  
 " the Colledge, he proponed to me of the new matter, with his  
 " Reasons and Arguments. First, he alledged the utility of the  
 " deed for delivering of so many Catholicks out of misery, and  
 " restitution of the Catholick Religion. I answered, that the  
 " Scripture answereth thereto, saying, *Non sunt facienda mala, ut*  
 " *veniant bona*. So that for no good, how great that ever it be,  
 " may be wrought any evil, how little that ever it be. He re-  
 " plied, that it was not evil to take away so great evil, and induce  
 " so great good. I answered, That all good is not to be done,  
 " but that onely, *Quod bene & legitime fieri potest*. And there-  
 " fore, *Dixi, Deum magis amare adverbium quam nomina. Quia in*  
 " *actionibus magis ei placent bene & legitime, quam bonum. Ita*  
 " *ut nullum bonum liceat facere, nisi bene & legitime fieri possit.*  
 " *Quod in hoc casu fieri non potest.* Yet said he, that several learn-  
 " ed men were of the opinion, *Quod liceret*. I answered, that  
 " they men perhaps were of the opinion that for the safety of  
 " many in Soul and Body, they would permit a particular to his  
 " danger, and to the occult judgment of God: Or perhaps said  
 " so, moved rather by some compassion and commiseration of  
 " the miserable estate of the Catholicks, not for any such Do-  
 " ctrine that they did finde in their Books. For it is certain, that  
 " such a thing is not licite to a particular, without special revela-  
 " tion Divine, which exceedeth our Learning and Doctrine. And  
 " so he departed from me.

Out of the Prison in the Tower,  
 the 20th of February.

Your Honours poor servitor  
 in Christ Jesu.

William Creichton Prisoner.

And where also the same *Parry* was on the same 20th day of  
 February examined by Sir *Francis Walsingham* Knight, what was  
 become of the Letter contained in his Confession to be written  
 unto

unto him by the Cardinal *de Como*, he then answered, that it was consumed and burnt: and yet after, the next day following, being more vehemently urged upon that point in examination (because it was known that it was not burnt) he confessed where he had left it in the Town: whereupon, by *Parrys* direction it was sent for, where it had been lapped up together with other frivolous papers, and written upon the one side of it, *The last Will of William Parry*, the which Letter was in the *Italian Tongue*, as hereafter followeth, with the same in *English* accordingly Translated.

*A mon Signore, mon Signore Guglielmo Parry.*

**M**On Signore, la Santita di N. S. ha veduto le Lettere di V. S. del primo con la fede inclusa, & non puo se non laudare la buona disposittione & resolutione che scrive di tenere verso il servitio & beneficio publico, nel che la Santita sua lessorta di perseverare, con farne riuscire li effetti che V. S. promette: Et accioche tanto maggiormente V. S. sia ajutata da quel buon Spirito che l'ha mosso, le concede sua Beneditione, plenaria Indulgenza & remissione di tutti li peccati, secondo che V. S. ha chiesto, assicurandos si che oltre il merito, che n'havera in cielo, vuole anco sua Santita constituirsi debitore a riconoscere li meriti di V. S. in ogni miglior modo, che potra, & cio tanto piu, quanto che V. S. usa maggior modestia in non pretendere niente. Metta dunqs ad effetto li suoi santi & honorati pensieri, & attenda a star sano. Che per fine io me le offero di core, & le desidero ogni buono & felice successo. Di Roma a 30 di Gennaro, MDLXXXIV.

*Al piacer di V. S.*

*N. Cardinale di Como.*

*Al Sig. Guglielmo Parri.*

*Cardinal de Como's Letter to Will. Parry, January 30th 1584. by accompt of Rome.*

“**M**Onsignor, the Holiness of our Lord hath seen the Letter  
“of your Signory of the first, with the assurance in-  
“cluded, and cannot but commend the good disposition and  
“resolution, which you write to hold towards the Service and  
“Benefit publick: Wherein his Holiness doth exhort you to  
“persevere, with causing to bring forth the effects which your  
Signory



“ Signorie promifeth. And to the end you may be fo much the  
 “ more holpen, by that good Spirit, which hath moved you  
 “ thereunto, his Bleffednefs doth grant to you plenary Indulgence  
 “ and Remiffion of all your Sins, according to your request.  
 “ Affuring you, that befides the Merit that you fhall receive  
 “ therefore in Heaven, his Holinefs will further make himfelf  
 “ Debtour, to re-acknowledge the defervings of your Signorie in  
 “ the beft manner that he can. And that fo much the more, in  
 “ that your Signorie ufeth the greater Modesty, in not pre-  
 “ tending any thing. Put therefore to effect your holy and  
 “ honourable thoughts, and attend your Health. And to con-  
 “ clude, I offer my felf unto you heartily, and do defire all  
 “ good and happy fuccesfs.

From Rome the 30th of  
 January, 1584.

At the pleafure of your Signorie,  
 N. Card. of Como.

**U**PON all which former Accufation, Declaration, Confessions,  
 and Proofs, upon Munday the 22th day of February laft  
 paft, at *Westminster-Hall*, before Sir *Christopher Wray* Knight,  
 Chief Juftice of England, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard* Knight, Mafter of  
 the Rolls, Sir *Edmund Anderson* Knight, Chief Juftice of the  
 Common Pleas, Sir *Roger Manwood* Knight, Chief Baron of the  
 Exchequer, Sir *Thomas Gawdy* Knight, one of the Juftices of  
 the Pleas before her Majesty to be holden, and *Will. Perriam*,  
 one of the Juftices of the Common Pleas, by vertue of her  
 Majesties Commiffion to them and others in that behalf directed;  
 The fame Parry was Indicted of High Treason, for intending  
 and praftifing the Death and Destruction of her Majesty, whom  
 God long prosper, and preserve from all fuch wicked attempts.  
 The tenour of which Indictment appeareth more particularly  
 in the courfe of his Arraignment following.

*The manner of the Arraignment of Will. Parry the 25th of Fe-*  
*bruary, 1584. at Westminster, in the place where the Court,*  
*commonly called the Kings-Bench, is usually kept, by vertue of*  
*her Majesties Commiffion of Oyer and Terminer, before Henry*  
*Lord Hunfdon Governour of Barwick, Sir Francis Knolles*  
*Knight, Treasurer of the Queens Majesties Houfhold, Sir James*  
*Croft Knight, Comptroller of the same Houfhold, Sir Christopher*  
*Hatton Knight, Vice-Chamberlain to her Majesty, Sir Christopher*  
*Wray Knight, Chief Juftice of England, Sir Gilbert Gerrard*  
*Knight,*

*Knight, Master of the Rolls, Sir Edmund Anderson Knight, Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas, Sir Roger Manwood Knight, Chief-Baron of the Exchequer, and Sir Thomas Hennage Knight, Treasurer of the Chamber.*

**F**irst, three Proclamations for silence were made, according to the usual course in such cases. Then the Lieutenant was commanded to return his Precept; which did so, and brought the Prisoner to the Bar, to whom *Miles Sandes Esquire*, Clerk of the Crown, said, *William Parry*, hold up thy hand; and he did so. Then said the Clerk of the Crown, Thou art here Indicted by the Oaths of twelve good and lawful men of the County of *Middlesex*, before *Sir Christopher Wray Knight*, and others, which took the Indictment by the

*The Indictment.*

name of *William Parry*, late of *London*, Gentleman, otherwise called *William Parry*, late of *London*, Doctor of the Law; for that thou, as a false Traitor against the most Noble and Christian Prince, Queen *Elizabeth*, thy most gracious Sovereign and Liege-Lady, not having the fear of God before thine eyes, nor regarding thy due Allegiance; but being seduced by the instigation of the Devil, and intending to withdraw and extinguish the hearty Love and due Obedience which true and faithful Subjects should bear unto the same our Sovereign Lady, didst at *Westminster* in the County of *Middlesex*, on the first day of *February*, in the 26th year of her Highness Reign, and at divers other times and places in the same County, maliciously and traiterously conspire and compass, not only to deprive and depose the same our Sovereign Lady of her Royal Estate, Title and Dignity; but also to bring her Highness to Death and final Destruction, and Sedition in the Realm to make, and the Government thereof to subvert, and the sincere Religion of God established in her Highness Dominions to alter and subvert. And that, whereas thou *William Parry*, by thy Letters sent unto *Gregory Bishop of Rome*, didst signify unto the same Bishop thy purposes and intentions aforesaid, and thereby didst pray and require the same Bishop to give thee Absolution; that thou afterwards, that is to say, the last day of *March* in the 26th year aforesaid, didst traiterously receive Letters from one called *Cardinal de Como*, directed unto thee *William Parry*, whereby the same Cardinal did signify unto thee, that the Bishop of *Rome* had perused thy Letters, and allowed of thine intent; and that to that end he had

G

absolved

abfolved thee of all thy Sins, and by the fame Letter did animate and stir thee to proceed with thine Enterprize ; and that thereupon, thou, the laſt day of *Auguſt*, in the 26th year aforeſaid, at *Saint Giles in the fields*, in the ſame County of *Middleſex*, didſt traiterouſly confer with one *Edmund Nevil* Eſquire, uttering to him all thy wicked and traiterous deviſes, and then and there didſt move him to aſſiſt thee therein, and to joyn with thee in thoſe wicked Treasons aforeſaid, againſt the Peace of our ſaid Sovereign Lady the Queen, her Crown and Dignity. What ſayeſt thou, *William Parry*, Art thou guilty of theſe Treasons whereof thou ſandeſt here Indicted, or not guilty ?

*Parry's answer to the Indictment.*

Then *Parry* ſaid, Before I plead not guilty, or confeſs my ſelf guilty, I pray you give me leave to ſpeak a few words : and with humbling himſelf, began in this manner. God ſave Queen *Elizabeth*, and God ſend me grace to diſcharge my duty to her, and to ſend you home in charity. But touching the matters that I am Indicted of, ſome were in one place, and ſome in another, and done ſo ſecretly, as none can ſee into them, except that they had eyes like unto God ; wherefore I will not lay my Blood upon the Jury, but do minde to confeſs the Indictment. It containeth but the parts that have been openly read, I pray you tell me ? Whereunto it was answered, that the Indictment contained the parts he had heard read, and no other : whereupon the Clerk of the Crown ſaid unto *Parry*, *Parry*, thou muſt answer directly to the Indictment, whether thou be guilty or not.

*Parry confeſſeth that he is guilty of all things contained in the Indictment.*

Then ſaid *Parry*, I do confeſs that I am guilty of all that is therein contained : And further too, I deſire not life, but deſire to die. Unto which the Clerk of the Crown ſaid, If you confeſs it, you muſt confeſs it in manner and form as it is comprized in the Indictment. Whereunto he ſaid, I do confeſs it in manner and form as the ſame is ſet down, and all the circumſtances thereof. Then the Confefſion being Recorded, the Queens learned Council being ready to pray Judgment upon the ſame Confefſion, Maſter Vice-chamberlain ſaid, Theſe matters contained in this Indictment, and confeſſed by this man, are of great importance : they touch the Perſon of the Queens moſt excellent Maſteſty in the higheſt degree, the very ſtate and well-doing of the whole Common-wealth, and the truth of Gods Word eſtabliſhed in theſe her Maſteſties Dominions, and the open demonſtration of that capital envy of the



the man of *Rome*, that hath set himself against God and all godliness, all good Princes and good Government, and against good men. Wherefore, I pray you, for the satisfaction of this great Multitude, let the whole matter appear, that every one may see that the matter of it self is as bad as the Indictment purporteth, and as he hath Confessed. Whereto in respect that the Justice of the Realm hath been of late very impudently slandered, all yielded as a thing necessary to satisfy the world in particular, of that which was but summarily comprised in the Indictment, though in the Law, his Confession served sufficiently to have proceeded thereupon unto Judgment. Whereupon the Lords and others the Commissioners, her Majesties learned Council, and *Parry* himself agreed, that *Parry's* Confession (taken the 11th and 13th of *February* 1584. before the Lord of *Hunsdon*, Master Vice-chamberlain, and Master Secretary,) and Cardinal *de Como* his Letters, and *Parry's* Letters to the Lord Treasurer and Lord Steward, should be openly read.

And *Parry*, for the better satisfying of the people and standers by, offered to read them himself: but being told that the Order was, the Clerk of the Crown should read them, it was so resolved of all parts. And then Master Vice-chamberlain caused to be shewed to *Parry* his said Confession, the Cardinals Letter, and his own Letter aforesaid; which after he had particularly viewed every leaf thereof, he confessed, and said openly they were the same.

Then said Master Vice-chamberlain, Before we proceed to shew what he hath Confessed, what say you, said he to *Parry*, is that which you have Confessed here true, and did you Confess it freely and willingly of your self, or was then any extort means used to draw it from you?

Surely, said *Parry*, I made that Confession freely without any constraint, and that is all true, and more too: for there is no Treason that hath been sithens the first year of the Queen, any way touching Religion, saving receipt of *Agnus Dei*, and perswading of others, wherein I have not much dealt, but I have offended in it. And I have also delivered mine opinion in writing, who ought to be Successor to the Crown, which he said to be Treason also.

Then his Confession of the eleventh and thirteenth of *February*, all of his own hand writing, and before particularly set down, was openly,

*Parry's Confession of his Treasons was read by his own assent.*

and

and distinctly read by the Clerk of the Crown. And that done, the Cardinal *di Como* his Letter in Italian was delivered unto *Parry's* hand by the direction of Master Vicechamberlain, which *A Letter of Cardinal di Como to Parry, also read.* *Parry* there perused, and openly affirmed to be wholly of the Cardinals own hand writing, and the Seal to be his own also, and to be with a Cardinals Hat on it : And himself did openly read it in *Italian*, as before is set down. And the words bearing sence as it were written to a Bishop, or to a man of such degree, it was demanded of him by Master Vice-Chamberlain, Whether he had not taken the degree of a Bishop? He said, No : But said at first, those terms were proper to the Degree he had taken. And after said, that the Cardinal did vouchsafe, as of a favour, to write so to him. Then the Copy of that Letter in *English*, as before is also set down, was in like manner openly read by the Clerk of the Crown ; which *Parry* then acknowledged to be truely translated.

*Parry's Letter of the 18th of February to the Lord Treasurer and the Earl of Leicester, read.*

And thereupon was shewed unto *Parry* his Letter of the 18th of *February*, written to the Lord Treasurer, and the Lord Steward : which he confessed to be all of his own Hand-writing, and was as before is set down.

These matters being read openly, for manifestation of the matter, *Parry* prayed leave to speak : Whereto Master Vice-chamberlain said, *If you will say any thing for the better opening to the world of those your foul and horrible Facts, speak on : but if you mean to make any excuse of that which you have confessed, which else would have been and do stand proved against you, for my part, I will not sit to hear you.*

Then her Majesties Attourney-General stood up and said, *It appeareth before you, my Lords, that this man hath been Indicted and Arraigned of several most bainous and horrible Treasons, and hath confessed them, which is before you of Record ; wherefore there resteth no more to be done, but for the Court to give Judgment accordingly, which here I require in the behalf of the Queens Majesty.*

*The Queens Attorny requires Judgment.*

Then said *Parry*, *I pray you hear me for discharging of my Conscience. I will not go about to excuse my self, nor to seek to save my Life, I care not for it ; you have my Confession of record, that is enough for my Life. And I mean to utter more, for which I were worthy to die. And said, I pray you hear me, in that I am to speak to discharge my Conscience.*

Then

Then said Master Vice-Chamberlain, *Parry*, then do thy Duty according to Conscience, and utter all that thou canst say concerning those thy most wicked Facts.

Then said *Parry*, *My cause is rare, singular and unnatural, conceived at Venice, presented in general words to the Pope, undertaken at Paris, commended and allowed of by his Holiness, and was to have been executed in England, if it had not been prevented. Yea, I have committed many Treasons, for I have committed Treason in being reconciled, and Treason in taking Absolution. There hath been no Treason sithens the first year of the Queens Reign touching Religion, but that I am guilty of (except for receiving of Agnus Dei, and perswading as I have said:) And yet never intended to kill Queen Elizabeth. I appeal to her own knowledge, and to my Lord Treasurers, and Master Secretaries.*

*Parry had for his credit aforetime said very secretly, that he had been solicited beyond the Seas to commit the fact, but he would not do it; where-with he craftily abused both the Queens Majesty, and those two Counsellors whereof he now would help himself with these false Speeches, against most manifest proofs.*

Then said my L<sup>d</sup> *Hunsdon*, *Hast thou acknowledged it so often, and so plainly in writing under thy hand, and here of record; and now, when thou shouldest have thy judgment according to that which thou hast Confessed thy self guilty of, dost thou go back again, and deny the effect of all? How can we believe that thou now sayest?*

Then said Master Vice-chamberlain, This is absurd. Thou hast not onely Confessed generally, that thou wert guilty according to the Indictment, which summarily, and yet in express words doth contain that thou hadst Traiterously compassed and intended the death and destruction of her Majesty; but thou also saidst particularly that thou wert guilty of every of the Treasons contained therein, whereof the same was one, in plain and express letter set down, and read unto thee. Yea, thou saidst that thou wert guilty of more Treasons too besides these. And didst thou not upon thy examination voluntarily confesse, how thou wast moved first thereunto by dislike of thy state after thy departure out of the Realm, And that thou didst dislike her Majesty for that she had done nothing for thee; How by wicked Papists and Popish Books, thou wert perswaded that it was lawful to kill her Majesty; How thou wert by reconciliation become one of that wicked sort, that held her Majesty for neither lawful Queen nor Christian, And that it was meritorious to kill her? And didst thou not signifie that thy purpose to the Pope by Letters and, receivedst Letters from the Cardinal, how he allowed of

*Master Vice-chamberlains Speeches, proving manifestly Parry's Traiterous intentions.*



thine intent, and excited thee to perform it, and thereupon didst receive Absolution? And didst thou not conceive it, promise it, vow it, swear it, and receive the Sacrament that thou wouldst do it? And didst not thou thereupon affirm, that thy Vows were in Heaven, and thy Letters and Promises on Earth to binde thee to do it? And that whatsoever her Majesty would have done for thee, could not have removed thee from that intention or purpose, unless she would have desisted from dealing as she hath done with the Catholicks, as thou callest them? All this thou hast plainly Confessed: And I protest before this great Assembly, thou hast Confessed it more plainly and in better sort, than my memory will serve me to utter: And saist thou now, that thou never meant'st it?

Ah, said *Parry*, your Honours know, how my Confession upon mine Examination was extorted.

Then both the Lord *Hunsdon* and Master Vice-Chamberlain affirmed, that there was no Torture or threatning words offered him.

But *Parry* then said, that they told him, that if he would not confess willingly, he should have torture: whereunto their Honours answered, that they used not any speech or word of torture to him.

You said, said *Parry*, that you would proceed with rigour against me, if I would not confess it of my self.

But their Honours expressly affirmed, that they used no such words. But I will tell thee, said Master Vice-chamberlain, what we said. I spake these words: If you will willingly utter the truth of your self, it may do you good, and I wish you to do so: If you will not, we must then proceed in ordinary course to take your Examination. Whereunto you answered, that you would tell the truth of your self. Was not this true? Which then he yielded unto.

*Parry repoved of false Speeches, and so by himself also confessed.*

And hereunto, her Majesties Attourney-General put *Parry* in remembrance what Speeches he used to the Lieutenant of the Tower, the Queens Majesties Serjeant at Law, Master *Gandie*, and the same Attourney, on Saturday the twentieth of *February* last, at the *Tower*, upon that he was by them then examined by Order from the Lords: which was, that he acknowledged he was most mildly and favourably dealt with, in all his Examinations: which he also at the Bar then acknowledged to be true.

Then Master Vice-chamberlain said, that it was wonder to see the magnanimity of her Majesty, which after that thou hadst opened

opened those Trayterous Practices in sort as thou hast laid it down in thy Confession, was nevertheless such, and so far from all fear, as that she would not so much as acquaint any one of her Highness Privy-Council with it, to his knowledge, no not until after this thine Enterprize discovered and made manifest. And besides that which thou hast set down under thine own hand, thou didst confess, that thou hadst prepared two *Scottish Daggers*, fit for such a purpose; and those being disposed away by thee, thou didst say, that another would serve thy turn. And withal, *Parry*, didst thou not also confess before us, how wonderfully thou wert appaled and perplexed upon a sudden, at the presence of her Majesty at *Hampton-Court* this last Summer, saying, that thou didst think, thou then sawest in her, the very likeness and image of King *Henry the Seventh*? And that therewith, and upon some Speeches used by her Majesty, thou didst turn about and weep bitterly to thy self? And yet didst call to minde that thy Vows were in Heaven, thy Letters and Promises on Earth; and that therefore thou didst say with thy self, that there was no remedy but to do it? Didst thou not confess this? The which he acknowledged.

Then said the Lord *Hunsdon*, Sayest thou now, that thou didst never mean to kill the Queen? Didst thou not confess, that when thou didst utter this practice of treachery to her Majesty, that thou didst cover it with all the skill thou hadst, and that it was done by thee, rather to get credit and access thereby, than for any regard thou hadst of her Person? But in truth thou didst it, that thereby thou mightest have better opportunity to perform thy wicked Enterprize. And wouldest thou have run into such fear as thou didst confess that thou wert in, when thou didst utter it, if thou hadst never meant it? What reason canst thou shew for thy self? With that he cryed out in a furious manner, *I never meant to kill her: I will lay my Blood upon Queen Elizabeth and you, before God and the World*: And thereupon fell into a rage and evil words with the Queens Majesties Attourney-General.

Then said the Lord *Hunsdon*, This is but thy Popish Pride and Ostentation, which thou wouldest have to be told to thy fellows of that Faction, to make them believe that thou diest for Popery, when thou diest for most horrible and dangerous Treasons against her Majesty, and thy whole Country. For thy laying of thy Bloud, it must lye on thine own Head, as a just Reward  
of

*The L. of Hunsdon's  
Speeches, convincing Parry  
manifestly of his Treason.*

of thy wickedness. The Laws of the Realm most justly condemn thee to die, out of thine own mouth, for the conspiring the Destruction both of her Majesty, and of us all : Therefore thy Bloud be upon thee ; neither her Majesty nor we at any time sought it, thy self hast spilt it.

Then he was asked, What he could say, why Judgment of Death ought not to be awarded against him.

Whereto he said, he did see that he must die, because he was not settled.

What meanest thou by that, said Master Vice-Chamberlain ? Said he, Look into your Study, and into your new Books, and you shall finde what I mean.

I protest (said his Honour) I know not what thou meanest : thou dost not well to use such dark Speeches, unless thou wouldst plainly utter what thou meanest thereby. But he said, he cared not for Death, and that he would lay his Bloud amongst them.

Then spake the Lord Chief-Justice of England, being required to give the Judgment, and said, *Parry*, you have been much heard, and what you mean by being settled, I know not ; but I see you are so settled in Popery, that you cannot settle your self to be a good Subject. But touching that you should say, to stay Judgment from being given against you, your Speeches must be of one of these kinds, either to prove the Indictment (which you have confessed to be true) to be insufficient in Law ; or else to plead somewhat touching her Majesties Mercy, why Justice should not be done of you. All other Speeches, wherein you have used great Liberty, is more than by Law you can ask. These be the matters you must look to, what say you to them ? Whereto he said nothing.

Then said the Lord Chief-Justice, *Parry*, thou hast been before this time Indicted of divers most horrible and hateful Treasons, committed against thy most gracious Sovereign and Native Country : the matter most detestable, the manner most subtle and dangerous, and the occasions and means that led thee thereunto, most ungodly and villanous. That thou didst intend it, it is most evident by thy self. The matter was the destruction of a most Sacred and an Anointed Queen, thy Sovereign and Mistress, who hath shewed thee such Favour, as some thy betters have not obtained : Yea, the Overthrow of thy Country wherein thou wert born, and of a most happy Commonwealth where-  
of



of thou art a Member, and of such a Queen, as hath bestowed on thee the Benefit of all benefits in this world; that is, thy Life, heretofore granted thee by her Mercy, when thou hadst lost it by Justice and Desert. Yet thou her-Servant, sworn to defend her, meant'st with thy bloody hand to have taken away her Life, that mercifully gave thee thine, when it was yielded into her hands : This is the matter wherein thou hast offended. The manner was most subtle and dangerous, beyond all that before thee have committed any Wickedness against her Majesty. For thou, making shew as if thou wouldest simply have uttered for her safety the Evil that others had contrived, didst but seek thereby credit and access, that thou mightest take the apter opportunity for her Destruction. And for the occasions and means that drew thee on, they were most ungodly and villanous, as the persuasions of the Pope, of Papists, and Popish Books. The Pope pretendeth that he is a Pastor, when as in truth, he is far from feeding of the Flock of Christ; but rather as a Wolf, *seeketh but to feed on* and to suck out the blood of true Christians, and as it were thirsteth after the blood of our most Gracious and Christian Queen. And these Papists and Popish Books, while they pretend to set forth Divinity, they do indeed most ungodly teach and persuade, that which is quite contrary both to God and his Word. For the Word teaches Obedience of Subjects towards Princes, and forbideth any private man to kill : But they teach Subjects to disobey Princes, and that a private wicked person may kill; yea, and whom? A most godly Queen, and their own natural and most gracious Sovereign. Let all men therefore take heed how they receive any thing from him, hear or read any of their Books, and how they confer with any Papists. God grant her Majesty, that she may know by thee, how ever she trust such like to come so near her Person. But see the end, and why thou didst it; and it will appear to be a most miserable, fearful, and foolish thing : For thou didst imagine, that it was to relieve those, that thou callest Catholicks, who were most likely amongst all others to have felt the worst of it, if thy devilish practice had taken effect. But sith thou hast been Indicted of the Treasons comprised in the Indictment, and thereupon Arraigned, and hast confessed thy self Guilty of them, the Court doth award, that thou shalt be had from hence to the place whence thou didst come, and so drawn through the open City of London upon an Hurdle to the place of Execution,

The Form of the  
Judgment against  
the Traitor.

cution, and there to be hanged and let down alive, and thy privy parts cut off, and thy entrals taken out and burnt in thy sight, then thy Head to be cut off, and thy Body to be divided in four parts, and to be disposed at her Majesties pleasure: And God have mercy on thy Soul.

*Parry* nevertheless persisted still in his rage and fond Speech, and ragingly there said, he there summoned *Queen Elizabeth* to answer for his Blood before God: wherewith, the Lieutenant of the *Tower* was commanded to take him from the Bar, and so he did. And upon his departure, the people stricken as it were at heart with the horror of his intended Enterprize, ceased not, but pursued him with out-cries, as, Away with the Traitor, away with him, and such like: whereupon he was conveyed to the Barge, to pass to the *Tower* again by water, and the Court was adjourned.

2. Martii. William Par-  
ry the Traitor Executed.

After which, upon the second day of this instant *March*, *William Parry* was by vertue of process in that behalf, awarded from the same Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, delivered by the Lieutenant of the *Tower* early in the morning, unto the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex*, who received him at the *Tower-hill*, and thereupon, according to the judgment, caused him there to be forthwith set on the Hurdel. From whence he was drawn thereupon threw the midst of the City of *London*, unto the place for his Execution in the *Pallace at Westminster*: where, having long time of stay admitted unto him before his Execution, he most maliciously and impudently, after some other vain discourses estsoons and often delivered in Speech, that he was never guilty of any intention to kill *Queen Elizabeth*, and so (without any request made by him to the people to pray to God for him, or prayer publicly used by himself for ought that appeared; but such as he used, if he used any, was private to himself) he was executed according to the judgment. And now for his intent, howsoever he pretended the contrary in words, yet by these his own Writings, Confessions, Letters, and many other proofs afore here expressed, it is most manifest to all persons, how horrible his intentions and Treasons were, and how justly he suffered for the same; and thereby greatly to be doubted, that as he had lived a long time vainly and ungodly, and like an Atheist and godless man, so he continued the same course till his death to the outward sight of men.

Here endeth the true and plain course and process of the Treasons, Arrest, Arraignment, and Execution of *William Parry* the Traitor.

An

*An addition not unnecessary for this purpose.*

**F**Or as much as *Parry* in the abundance of his proud and arrogant humour, hath often both in his Confession, and Letters, pretended some great and grievous causes of discontentment against her Majesty, and the present State: It shall not be impertinent, for better satisfaction of all persons, to set forth simply and truly, the condition and quality of the man, what he was by Birth and Education, and in what course of life he had lived.

This vile and Traiterous Wretch was one of the younger Sons of a poor man, called *Harry ap David*: he dwelled in *North-Wales* in a little Village called *Northoppe*, in the County of *Flint*: there he kept a common Ale-house, which was the best and greatest stay of his living. In that house was this Traitor Born, his Mother was the reputed Daughter of one *Conway* a Priest, Parson of a poor Parish called *Halkin*, in the same County of *Flint*: his his eldest Brother dwelleth at this present in the same House, and there keepeth an Ale-house as his Father did before him. This Traitor in his Childhood, so soon as he had learned a little to Write & Read, was put to serve a poor man dwelling in *Chester*, named *John Fisher*, who professed to have some small skill and understanding in the Law. With him he continued divers years, and served as a Clerk, to write such things, as in that Trade which his master used, he was appointed. During this time, he learned the *English* Tongue, and at such times of leasure, as the poor man his Master had no occasion otherwise to use him, he was suffered to go to the Grammer-School, where he got some little understanding in the *Latin* Tongue. In this his Childhood he was noted by such as best knew him, to be of a most villanous and dangerous nature and disposition. He did often run away from his Master, and was often taken and brought to him again. His Master, to correct his perverse and froward conditions, did many times shut him as Prisoner in some close place of his house, and many times caused him to be chained, locked, and clogged, to stay his running away. Yet all was in vain: For about the third year of her Majesties Reign, for his last farewell to his poor Master, he ran away from him, and came to *London* to seek his Adventures. He was then constrained to seek what Trade he could to live by, and to get meat and drink for his belly, and cloaths for his back. His good hap in the end was to be entertained in  
place



place of Service above his Desert ; where he staid not long, but shifted himself divers times from Service to Service, and from one Master to another. Now he began to forget his old Home, his Birth, his Education, his Parents, his Friends, his own Name, and what he was. He aspired to greater matters, he challenged the Name and Title of a great Gentleman, he vaunted himself to be of Kin and allied to Noble and Worshipful ; he left his old Name, which he did bear and was commonly called by in his Childhood, and during all the time of his abode in the Country, which was *William ap Harry* (as the manner in *Wales* is.) And because he would seem to be indeed the man which he pretended, he took upon him the Name of *Parry*, being the Surname of divers Gentlemen of great Worship and Honour. And because his Mothers Name by her Father (a Priest) was *Conway*, he pretended Kindred to the Family of Sir *John Conway*, and so thereby made himself of kin to *Edmund Nevil*. Being thus set forth with his new Name and new Title of Gentleman, and commended by some of his good Favourers, he matched himself in Marriage with a Widow in *South-Wales*, who brought him some reasonable Portion of Wealth. She lived with him but a short time, and the wealth he had with her lasted not long : it was soon consumed with his dissolute and wastful manner of life. He was then driven to his wonted shifts, his Creditors were many, the Debt which he owed great, he had nothing wherewith to make Payment, he was continually pursued by Serjeants and Officers to Arrest him, he did often by flights and shifts escape from them. In this his needy and poor estate, he sought to repair himself again by a new match in Marriage with another Widow, which before was the Wife of one *Richard Heywood* ; this matter was so earnestly followed by himself, and so effectually commended by his Friends and Favourers, that the Woman yielded to take him to Husband : a Match in every respect very unequal and unfit ; her Wealth and yearly Livelihood was very great, his poor and base Estate worse than nothing ; he very young, she of such age, as for years she might have been his Mother. When he had thus possessed himself of his new Wives wealth, he omitted nothing that might serve for a prodigal, dissolute, and most ungodly course of Life. His Riot and Excess was unmeasurable ; he did most wickedly deflower his Wives own Daughter, and sundry ways pitifully abuse the old Mother : He carried himself for his outward port and countenance (so long as  
his

his Old wives Bags lasted) in such sort, as might well have sufficed for a man of very good haviour and degree. But this lasted not long; his proud heart and wastful hand had soon poured out old *Heywood's* Wealth. He then fell again to his wonted shifts, borrowed where he could finde any to lend, and engaged his Credit so far as any would trust him. Amongst others, he became greatly indebted to *Hugh Hare*, the Gentleman before-named; who after long forbearing of his Money, sought to recover it by ordinary means of Law. For this cause *Parry* conceived great displeasure against him, which he pursued with all Malice, even to the seeking of his Life. In this murderous intent, he came in the night-time to Mr. *Hares* Chamber in the *Temple*, broke open the door, assaulted him, and wounded him grievously, and so left him in great danger of Life. For this Offence he was Apprehended, Committed to *Newgate*, Indicted of Burglary, Arraigned, and found Guilty by a very substantial Jury, and Condemned to be Hanged, as the Law in that Case requireth. He standing thus Convicted, her Majesty, of her most gracious Clemency, and pitiful Disposition, took compassion upon him, pardoned his Offence, and gave him his Life, which by the Law and due course of Justice he ought then to have lost. After this he tarried not long, but pretending some causes of discontentment, departed the Realm, and travelled beyond the Seas. How he demeaned himself there from time to time, and with whom he conversed, is partly in his own Confession touched before. This is the man, this is his Race, which he feared should be spotted, if he miscarried in the execution of his Traiterous Enterprise; this hath been the course of his Life, these are the great causes of his Discontentment.

*Parry Condemned  
for Burglary, Par-  
doned of the Queen.*

And whereas at his Arraignment and Execution, he pretended great care of the disobedient Popish Subjects of this Realm, whom he called Catholicks, and in very insolent sort seemed to glory greatly in the Profession of his pretended Catholick Religion: The whole course and action of his Life sheweth plainly, how profanely and irreligiously he did always bear himself. He vaunted, that for these two and twenty years past he had been a Catholick, and during all that time never received the Communion: Yet before he travelled beyond the Seas, at three several times within the compass of those two and twenty years, he did voluntarily take the Oath of Obedience to the Queens Majesty, set down in the Statute made in the first year of her Highness

Reign ; by which, amongst other things, he did testifie and declare in his Conscience, that no Forreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Power, Preeminence, or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within this Realm ; and therefore did utterly renounce and forsake all Forreign Jurisdctions, Powers, and Authorities ; and did promise to bear Faith and true Allegiance to the Queens Highness, her Heirs and lawful Successors.

With what Conscience or Religion he took that Oath so often, if he were then a Papist indeed, as sithence the discovery of his Treasons he pretended, let his best friends the Papists themselves judge. But perhaps it may be said, that he repented those his Offences past ; that since those three Oaths so taken by him, he was twice reconciled to the Pope, and so his Conscience cleared, and he become a new man ; and (which is more) that in the time of his last Travel, he cast away all his former lewd manners : that he changed his degree and habit, and bought or begged the grave Title of a Doctor of Law, for which he was well qualified with a little Grammar-School *Latine* ; that he had Plenary Indulgence, and Remission of all his Sins, in consideration of his undertaking of so holy an Enterprize as to kill Queen *Elizabeth*, a sacred anointed Queen, his Natural and Sovereign Lady : That he promised to the Pope, and vowed to God to perform it : that he confirmed the same by receiving the Sacrament at the Jesuits, at one Altar with his two *Beaupeers*, the Cardinals of *Vendosme* and *Narbonne* : And that since his last return into *England*, he did take his Oath upon the Bible to execute it. These Reasons may seem to bear some weight indeed amongst his Friends the Jesuits, and other Papists of State, who have special Skill in matters of such importance.

But now lately in the beginning of this Parliament in *November* last, he did estsoons solemnly in publick place take the Oath before mentioned, of obedience to her Majesty. How that may stand with his reconciliations to the Pope, and with his Promises, Vows, and Oath to kill the Queen, it is a thing can hardly be warranted, unless it be by some special priviledge of the Popes omnipotency.

But let him have the glory he desired, to live and die a Papist. He deserved it, it is fit for him, his death was correspondent to the course of his life, which was disloyal, perjured, and Traiterous towards her Majesty, and false and perfidious towards the Pope himself, and his Catholicks, if they will believe his solemn protestations



tions which he made at his Arraignment and Execution, that he never meant nor intended any hurt to her Highness Person. For if that be true, where are then his Vows which he said were in Heaven, his Letters and Promise upon Earth? Why hath he stolen out of the Popes shop so large an Indulgence and plenary Remission of all his Sins, and meant to perform nothing that he promised? Why was his Devotion and Zeal so highly commended? Why was he so specially prayed for and remembered at the Altar? All these great favours were then bestowed upon him without cause or desert: for he deceived the Pope, he deceived the Cardinals, and Jesuites, with a false semblance, and pretence to do that thing which he never meant.

But the matter is clear, the Conspiracy, and his traiterous intent is too plain and evident: it is the Lord that revealed it in time, and prevented their malice: there lacked no will, or readiness in him to execute that horrible fact. It is the Lord that hath preserved her Majesty from all the wicked Practices and Conspiracies of that Hellish Rabble: it is he that hath most graciously deliver'd her from the hands of this Traiterous miscreant. The Lord is her onely defence, in whom she hath always trusted.

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A Prayer for all Kings, Princes, Countries and People which do profess the Gospel, and especially for our Sovereign Lady Queen *Elizabeth*: used in Her Majesties Chappel, and meet to be used of all persons within Her Majesties Dominions.

**O** Lord God of hosts, most loving and merciful Father, whose power no creature is able to resist, who of thy great goodness hast promised to grant the petitions of such as ask in thy Sons Name: We most humbly beseech thee to save and defend all Princes, Magistrates, Kingdoms, Countries and People which have received and do profess thy holy Word and Gospel; and namely this Realm of England, and thy servant *Elizabeth* our Queen, whom thou hast hitherto wonderfully preserved from manifold Perils and sundry Dangers, and of late revealed and frustrated the Traiterous Practices and Conspiracies of divers against her: for the which, and all other thy great goodness towards us, we give thee most humble and hearty thanks, beseeching thee in the Name of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and for his sake, still to preserve and continue her unto us, and to give her long life and many years to rule over this Land. O Heavenly Father, the practices of our Enemies, and the Enemies of thy word and truth, against her and us, are manifest and known unto thee. Turn them, O Lord, if it be thy blessed Will, or overthrow and confound them, for thy Names sake: Suffer them not to prevail: Take them, O Lord, in their crafty Wiliness that they have invented, and let them fall into the Pit which they have digged for others. Permit them not ungodly to triumph over us: Discomfort them, discomfort them, O Lord, which trust in their own multitude, and please themselves in their subtle devices, and wicked Conspiracies. O loving Father, we have not deserved the least of these thy Mercies which we crave: For we have sinned, and grievously offended thee; we are not worthy to be called thy Sons: We have not been so thankful unto thee as we should

should, for thy unspeakable benefits powred upon us: We have abused this long time of Peace and Prosperity: We have not obeyed thy Word: We have had it in Mouth, but not in heart: in outward appearance, but not in deed: We have lived carelessly: We have not known the time of our visitation: we have deserved utter destruction. But thou, O Lord, art merciful, and ready to forgive: therefore we come to thy Throne of Grace, confessing and acknowledging thee to be our only refuge in all times of peril and danger: And by the means of thy Son, we most heartily pray thee to forgive us our Unthankfulness, Disobedience, Hypocrisie, and all other our Sins: to turn from us thy heavy wrath and displeasure, which we have justly deserved: and to turn our hearts truly unto thee, that daily we may increase in all goodness, and continually more and more fear thy holy Name: So halt we glorifie thy Name, and sing unto thee in Psalms, and Hymns, and Spiritual Songs: And thy enemies and ours shall know themselves to be but men, and not able by any means to withstand thee, nor to hurt those whom thou hast received into thy protection and defence. Grant these things, O Lord of Power, and Father of Mercy, for thy Christ's sake: to whom with thee and thy Holy Spirit, be all Honour and Glory for ever and ever. Amen.

A Prayer and Thanksgiving for the Queen, used of all the Knights and Burgesses in the High Court of Parliament, and very requisite to be used and continued of all her Majesties loving Subjects.

O Almighty and most merciful God, which dost pitch thy tents round about thy people, to deliver them from the hands of their enemies: we thy humble Servants, which have ever of old seen thy Salvation, do fall down and prostrate our selves with Praise and Thanksgiving to thy glorious Name, who hast in thy tender Mercies from time to time saved and defended thy Servant **ELIZABETH**, our most gracious Queen, not only from the hands of strange Children, but also of late revealed and made frustrate his bloody and most barbarous Treason, who being her natural Subject, most unnaturally violating thy Divine Ordinance, hath secretly sought to shed her blood, to the great disquiet of thy Church, and utter discomfort of our Souls: his snare is broken in pieces, but upon thy Servant doth the Crown flourish. The wicked and bloody men think to devour Jacob, and to lay waste his dwelling-place: But thou (O God) which rulest in Jacob, and unto the ends of the world, dost daily teach us still to trust in thee for all thy great Mercies, and not to forget thy merciful Kindness shewed to her, that feareth thy Name. O Lord, we confess to thy Glory and Praise, that thou only hast saved us from destruction, because thou hast not given her over for a prey to the wicked: Her Soul is delivered, and we are escaped. Hear us now we pray thee, (O most merciful Father) and continue forth thy loving Kindness towards thy Servant, and cherishe her to thy Glory and our Comfort, keep her in health, with long life, and Prosperity: whose rest and only refuge is in thee, O God of her Salvation. Preserve her, as thou art wont, preserve her from the snare of the Enemy, from the gathering together of the froward, from the insurrection of wicked Doers, and from all the traitorous Conspiracies of those which privily lay wait for her life. Grant this, O Heavenly Father, for Jesus Christs sake, our only Mediator and Advocate, Amen.

Io. Th.

A Prayer used in the Parliament only.

O Merciful God and Father, forasmuch as no counsel can stand, nor any can prosper, but only such as are humbly gathered in thy Name, to feel the sweet taste of thy Holy Spirit: we gladly acknowledge, that by thy favour standeth the peaceable protection of our Queen and Realm, and likewise this favourable liberty granted unto us at this time to make our meeting together: which thy bountiful Goodness we most thankfully acknowledging, do withal earnestly pray thy Divine Majesty so to incline our hearts, as our counsels may be subject in true obedience to thy Holy Word and Will. And since it hath pleased thee to govern this Realm by ordinary assembling the three Estates of the same: Our humble Prayer is, that thou wilt graff in us good mindes to conceit, free liberty to speak, and on all sides a ready and quiet consent to such wholesome Lawes and Statutes, as may declare us to be thy people, and this Realm to be prosperously ruled by thy good guiding and defence: So that we and our posterity may with cheerful hearts wait for thy appearance in Judgment, that art only able to present us faultless before God our Heavenly Father: To whom with thee our Saviour Christ, and the Holy Spirit, be all Glory both now and ever. Amen.

FINIS.

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